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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 17, November 1983

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22 February 1984

## USSR REPORT

### TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 17, November 1983

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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## THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION AND THE ROLE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS

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[Speech by B. Ponomarev, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the PRAVDA-sponsored 9-10 November Moscow meeting of representatives from the press of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties who attended the celebrations in honor of the 66th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution]

[Text] The world is now living through difficult and complicated times. The situation on the international arena is dangerous. Our party's principled evaluation of the situation is expressed in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's 28 September 1983 statement. The conclusions contained in it determine the approach of the CPSU and the Soviet state toward the fundamental problems of our times.

The main distinctive feature of the present situation is the fact that U.S. imperialism is deliberately stepping up tension and exacerbating the situation in literally all directions. On all fronts of the confrontation between the forces of peace and war, between the forces of democracy and socialism and the forces of reaction. As a result of this, explosive situations are developing in various parts of the world and the threat of thermonuclear war increases.

How does the CPSU view the position of communists in this situation? "The threat of nuclear war that is hanging over the world," Yu. V. Andropov said at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum, "calls for a revised assessment of the fundamental meaning of the activity of the entire communist movement. The communists have always been fighters against oppression and exploitation of man by man, and today they are also struggling to preserve human civilization and for man's right to life." Thus the worldwide-historic mission of revolutionaries acquires a new and vitally important aspect. The communists and revolutionary democrats are called upon by history to do everything within their power to mobilize and unite all the forces of peace, national independence, and socialism under conditions where "the dead are latching on to the living," where the historic decline of capitalism takes the form of a sharp increase in the aggressiveness of the main imperialist power, such that it is pushing the whole world toward catastrophe.

These days an awareness and understanding of the terrible consequences of the arms race have gripped tens and hundreds of millions of people of diverse

ideological views or party allegiance. It is important that their protest be channeled toward active and practical struggle against the preparations for war. But this is impossible to attain without specifically pointing out the source of the military threat, from where this threat stems, and what its real causes are.

Moreover, today it is not sufficient to say that, in the final analysis, the blame lies with imperialism as a social system, although this is, of course, true. The point is to eliminate the threat of thermonuclear war until such time as imperialism disappears and to pursue the specific goal, attainable under present conditions, of curbing the aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism and NATO whose policy creates the immediate danger of nuclear war.

Contemporary U.S. imperialism acts as the most vivid embodiment of all the pernicious and antihuman characteristics of the capitalist social system. The monopolistic character of present-day capitalism has reached its culmination in the United States. U.S. imperialism is the supreme embodiment of the parasitism of that system.

Militarism and preparations for the extermination of people are swallowing fantastic sums. Next year's U.S. military budget alone will reach \$280 billion. This amount alone would be sufficient to solve many problems in developing countries. And is it possible, indeed, to forget that about one-fourth of the profits by U.S. monopolies are derived as a result of the exploitation and plundering of other peoples?

At the same time, U.S. imperialism is the symbol of the doom of capitalism, which has entered into a fierce conflict with the fundamental interests of the peoples. In its policy in the international arena this has found expression in the formula of the so-called "vital U.S. interests," for whose sake that country's leaders are prepared to gamble with life on earth itself.

The "crusade against communism," which has been proclaimed by the U.S. President and which is, in fact, aimed against progress, freedom, and peace, is a concentrated expression of the ideology and policy of U.S. imperialism.

What is its essence?

In the first place, it is an attempt to carry out social revanche on a worldwide scale. To consign communism to "the trash heap of history"--this is how Reagan formulated the immediate goal of his policy. The military policy directive for 1984-1988, elaborated by the U.S. Defense Department, sets the goal: "To destroy socialism as a sociopolitical system." How can we fail here to recall the delirious schemes of German fascism?

What we have here is a deliberate transfer of ideological contradictions, objectively stemming from the antagonism between the two world systems, into the sphere of interstate relations. The present U.S. Administration and those who follow it are, in fact, striving to foist upon the socialist world a pernicious alternative: either renounce its ideology, its principles, and its system or it will face a clash of arms. But they must understand that,

especially in the nuclear age, no ideological argument can be resolved by way of military rivalry. Under the pretext of the ideological incompatibility between capitalism and socialism they are torpedoing the method of dialogue and talks as the only means of resolving disputed questions in the nuclear age and are undermining the generally accepted standards of international relations and primarily the principle which is fundamental in our times--the principle of peaceful coexistence between states regardless of their ideology and social systems.

The CPSU considers, as Yu. V. Andropov has said, that "the historical competition between the two social systems and the battle of ideas are an entirely logical phenomenon, stemming from the very fact of the existence of socialism and capitalism. But we are firmly opposed to the channeling of this historical confrontation toward curtailment of peaceful cooperation and even more so to its being transferred to the plane of nuclear war."

Secondly, the essence of the U.S. Administration's foreign policy strategy consists of an overt gamble on crude force. The unprecedented buildup of military potential is subordinated to the task of attaining military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist world. Essentially it is a question of pursuit of a policy of nuclear blackmail or, even worse, the precept of achieving victory in a nuclear war.

Thirdly, U.S. imperialism needs military superiority over socialism in order to gain a completely free hand regarding the liberated countries. Meanwhile, there is an increasingly broad and uncereceremonious application of the strong-arm method of crushing revolutionary movements and subverting and liquidating progressive regimes.

The aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and its encroachments against the sovereignty of states are growing everywhere--in Europe, in Central America, in the Near East, in the Persian Gulf area, in southern Africa, and elsewhere. The latest evidence of this was the brazen piracy committed against Grenada.

Events in Grenada mirrored the essence of current U.S. policy.

They spotlighted for the whole world a truth, which was obvious to us from the very beginning: the "crusade" is not simple "rhetoric," as some people try to reassure us, but a real political program--terrorist by nature--based on force and the nuclear arms race, and capable of leading the world to the brink of nuclear destruction. Even Thatcher declared in connection with the Grenada intervention: "If matters are shaping in the direction of the proclamation of a new law whereby the United States is to invade the territory of communist countries...then truly fearful wars await us."

Events in Grenada have shown "in all its glory" the dangerous adventurism of the present U.S. Administration, not only in its total disregard for the standards of international law but also its total disregard for its allies. It seems that in light of these events, the political circles in capitalist countries should understand what threats are inherent in unconditional subordination to the U.S. militarist plans.

Fourthly, a component of U.S. imperialist strategy is the precept of attaining the subordination of the whole world to the United States by way of intimidation using the "Soviet threat," which in fact is nonexistent, and with the help of anticommunist blackmail, economic chauvinism, and great power attitudes, and of rendering its NATO allies puppets in foreign policy and vehicles for U.S. interests in domestic policy.

The Reagan administration has adopted a course of tightening up "Atlantic discipline." It turned the Williamsburg meeting, which was meant to examine economic problems, into a political demonstration of Atlantic alliance unity. Washington has not abandoned its plans for bringing France--even if without formal decisions--back into the NATO military organization. It is also drawing Japan toward NATO, and not unsuccessfully, either. Reagan's visit there was yet another major step in that direction.

It is impossible not to see that the governments of the Atlantic alliance countries are playing--some to a larger extent than others--the role of U.S. retainers. This is why they, and their bloc as a whole, bear the responsibility for the siting of U.S. missiles in West Europe and also for the increased threat of war. The governments of NATO countries, having succumbed to U.S. pressure, are turning their peoples into hostages of the most aggressive grouping of U.S. imperialism.

Fifthly, the "crusade" is the transformation of ideological struggle into the dirtiest "psychological warfare." Using the Goebbels methods of the "big lie," U.S. propaganda and its NATO underlings are turning the mass information media into an "ideological battering ram" of unbridled slander campaigns, directed primarily against the socialist countries and the progressive democratic movements. Provocations are being deliberately organized for the purpose of further increasing international tension. This was the underlying reasons for the provocation involving the South Korean aircraft, the famous "Antonov affair" concocted by the West's special services, and other similar measures.

Anti-Sovietism has acquired a truly unbelievable scope. It has become an everyday phenomenon and it is drummed from morning till night into people's heads by the bourgeois mass information media. It is, at that, an open secret that it is the U.S. services that orchestrate the anti-Soviet campaigns and determine the entire "strategy of anti-Sovietism."

The lie about the "Soviet military threat" is the core of this strategy. This lie is being put into circulation to "justify" literally all the foreign policy aspects of the Reagan administration's course and the specific actions linked with them. Indeed:

--The Soviet Union is accused of striving to exploit detente in order to gain "military superiority" over NATO, and in this way they try to justify the unbridled arms race in NATO countries and the entire policy aimed at preparation for nuclear war.

--They attribute to the Soviet Union a desire to implant in Asian, African and Latin American countries regimes "on the Soviet model" and thus justify

"America's right" to halt revolutionary processes by force of arms in any part of the world, wherever the opportunity may arise.

--The communists' belief in the historically inevitable victory of socialism over capitalism is falsely presented as an intention to do away with the capitalist world by military means, the method of "communist subversive activity," and the export of revolution.

In a word, the thesis of the "Soviet military threat" is the foundation on which the entire propaganda and policy of imperialism are built.

It must, however, be understood that this thesis--precisely because of its completely false and indemonstrable nature--is the Achilles' heel of Reaganite propaganda and policy, since it cannot stand up to a comparison with actual reality. This precisely is the vulnerable point which should be the target of the arrows of criticism and exposure of this policy and propaganda from all directions.

It is, at the same time, extremely important that the people's masses in all countries should know and understand our Marxist-Leninist historical concept of revolutionary process, which organically includes the idea of peace and peaceful coexistence. The democratic press is called upon to play an indispensable role in this.

The concept of the world revolutionary process, by which the CPSU is guided, consists of the fact that the revolutionary struggle waged in the capitalist zone of the world for the interests of the working class and the people's masses, for the victory of socialism, can develop successfully under the conditions of peaceful coexistence between states with different social system, under the conditions of preserving, continuing, and developing detente, in the struggle to exclude wars from mankind's life.

Indeed, is this not borne out by the successes scored in the postwar period by revolutionary forces in the most different corners of the world? After all, even close allies of the United States admit that revolutionary processes in a number of Asian, African and Latin American countries are the result of the effect of domestic causes, the dissatisfaction of working people and of the peoples with the existing order and with the policy of colonialism and neocolonialism, and a result of the protest against bloody tyrannical regimes. There is absolutely no need to "export" revolution. It blazes its own trail, and the United States is trying to hinder it by force of arms.

We have always been and remain--and this is noted in the documents of Communist Party conferences--opposed to the "export of revolution" and, at the same time, against the export of counterrevolution.

As regards the socialist countries, they are confidently marching forward, augmenting their political and economic potential year by year. They do not need armed confrontations and, still less, nuclear war. But we will, of course, resolutely defend the gains of socialism, should they be endangered.

What are the roots of the present policy of NATO ruling circles? Is this an accidental occurrence or is it an expression of a definite trend in modern capitalism?

This is the policy of the most aggressive and most reactionary circles of the ruling class in the United States and other imperialist states. The coming to power of Reagan, Thatcher, and other conservative figures, the consolidation of conservative party positions in a number of countries, the stepping up of right-wing trends in bourgeois political thought, the creation of an antisocialist international called "international democratic union" which unites the most reactionary circles in Western Europe and the United States-- all this has given bourgeois political scientists reason to speak of some kind of "global trend toward conservatism."

The U.S. President recently proclaimed himself a contender for the position of chief ideologue of modern conservatism. In his 3 October speech on the 10th anniversary of the so-called "Heritage Foundation" he proclaimed that "the time of conservative views has come." Having described communism as an "anomaly in human history," he expounded in a "crusading" spirit, his credo consisting of the most primitive reactionary ideas.

What, then, is the class nature of this entire political strategy? Its chief social base is the military-industrial complex or, to use a more up-to-date term, the "iron triangle" of military business, the Pentagon, and the U.S. militaristic wing. The "iron triangle" is striving to snatch as large a slice as possible of the social pie and to expand its power and influence in the state and in society as a whole. The collapse of U.S. aggression in Vietnam was a major defeat for the "triangle." The share of military output in the GNP fell from 8-10 percent to 5-6 percent, its prestige declined, the ideology and policy of militarism which was nurtured in the 1940s, '50s and '60s were discredited in the eyes of society, whereas antiwar trends spread considerably.

Having regrouped and changed its slogans and tactics, the "iron triangle" has launched a counteroffensive. The second half of the '70s was marked by the establishment of new militarist organizations and centers like the "Committee on the Present Danger," by a sharp intensification of militarist propaganda among the people, and by pressure on the White House and congress. As a result of this, the process of detente was impeded, new difficulties emerged at the SALT talks, and highly dangerous developments took place in U.S. military doctrine. By 1980 the militarists had already succeeded in impressively consolidating their positions. In addition, each success only went to whet their appetites and they gambled on the new administration. And they were not proved wrong: the time came for a period of intensive growth of military expenditures, militarization of foreign policy, and transformation of the most extreme adventurous concepts of the "hawks" into official doctrines for Washington.

The other most important social source of Reaganism is the multinational monopolies, those pillars of the U.S. empire. They fear for their capital and their future.

However, right-wing U.S. forces are trying to create the impression that they speak on behalf of "ordinary Americans" and express their interests and feelings. The consciousness of the masses is being poisoned with anticommunism, chauvinism and nationalism.

However, it has to be realized that the policy of contemporary imperialism's extreme right wing is the outcome of its crisis, the so-called program of "American revival" reflects not only a refusal to acknowledge the decisive realities of our time, but also a malicious and aggressive revolt against these realities and a concerted attempt to smash them. But this will bring America neither strength or glory.

The present U.S. Administration and its related conservative forces in other countries are to a considerable extent creating a new situation. But even under these conditions the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the socialist community intend to maintain their restraint and sang-froid and will unswervingly continue their unprincipled internationalist policy of strengthening peace. The safeguarding of a stable peace and the defense of the people's right to independence and social progress, Yu. V. Andropov stresses, are the unchanging aims of our foreign policy. In the struggle for these ends the leadership of the party and the state will act in a principled, consistent, and well-balanced fashion. This policy and the strength and firmness of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community are the guarantee of man's salvation from a nuclear catastrophe. The USSR and the socialist community are the main bastion of peace and socialism. Therefore, all forces in favor of these goals are also objectively interested in strengthening the USSR and in disseminating the truth about our domestic and foreign policy.

The maintenance of military-strategic equilibrium, between the USSR and the United States, and between the socialist and capitalist worlds is of exceptionally great importance in our time.

Historical experience irrefutably attests that the elimination of the U.S. monopoly on atomic weapons, and also the subsequent elimination of U.S. "invulnerability" "two oceans away" from the inevitable retribution have served as a decisive military-strategic factor in averting thermonuclear war throughout the entire postwar period. This role has been and is now being played by the military-strategic equilibrium that has been achieved.

Only the maintenance of this equilibrium can restrain attempts by imperialism's most aggressive circles to unleash a world war using new types of weapons. The Soviet concept of maintaining military equilibrium organically subsumes the struggle to lower its level, reduce the accumulated arms arsenals, and curtail and discontinue the race in means of destruction, right through to general and complete disarmament.

I now turn to the Soviet approach to the most topical problems of world politics.

The hotspot in international relations is the question of nuclear arms in Europe.

Our country has shown great flexibility during the Geneva negotiations on medium-range nuclear weapons. Yu. V. Andropov's replies to PRAVDA questions published 27 October this year provided new and weighty confirmation of the realism and constructiveness of the Soviet approach. They reveal the main elements in the Soviet positions at the Geneva talks at the present time. At the same time they contain a clear-cut program for solving the problems of limiting nuclear arms in Europe in the immediate future, while taking account of the interests of universal security.

What is the main feature of our proposals? They are all founded upon two perfectly clear principles. Firstly, the USSR insists upon a substantial reduction of the medium-range nuclear means actually existing now in Europe and is therefore against any new sitings of U.S. nuclear weapons on European soil. Secondly, we proceed from the principle of equality and identical security. This presupposes that all categories of medium-range nuclear weapons existing in Europe must be taken into account--missiles as well as aircraft, the Soviet Union's means as well as the means belonging to countries in the Atlantic bloc, in other words the United States, Britain and France.

True, we are told that the British means, and the French means in particular, are supposedly independent and thus cannot be taken into account. In the first place, this is not true. Even the U.S. Congressional Research Service declares in its documents: In the event of a war beginning, the allied means will be placed under the control of the NATO supreme command. But the main point is something else. The British and French means, just like the American, are targeted on the USSR. No one makes any secret of this. And for those on whom the nuclear bombs or missiles will fall it makes absolutely no difference whether they are called independent or something else.

An active discussion is now in progress among peace-loving forces on the question: What can be done nevertheless to prevent a new round in the arms race? At times certain circles of the antiwar movement express the view that the Soviet Union must, for this purpose, take unilateral steps as, for example, starting to cut back its SS-20 missiles. But over the 2 years of talks in Geneva the Soviet Union did the maximum possible, including the taking of serious unilateral steps aimed at helping the reaching of agreements.

Thus, it imposed a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons on its European part. The additional siting of missiles beyond the Urals, from where they could have reached West Europe, was also halted. When cutting back the number of medium-range nuclear missiles, the Soviet Union withdrew from service all its SS-5 missiles.

How did the West and the United States respond to these unilateral steps of ours? They in fact rejected all our proposals aimed at the quest of mutually acceptable solutions and led matters toward frustration of the talks. Under these conditions, any further unilateral steps by the USSR are impossible and dangerous. They would be taken by the United States as a sign of weakness, as an indication that it is necessary to "pressure" the Soviet Union further.

It would be a different story if the United States were to renounce the deployment of its weapons within the set deadlines, thus making it possible to continue the talks and the quest for mutually acceptable solutions. In such a case the Soviet Union would be prepared to take new steps: to undertake cutting back the SS-4 missiles (and we have more than 200 of them) and destroying them during 1984-1985. And if it became possible to conclude an agreement in Geneva on a just basis, then, of course, a considerable proportion of the SS-20 missiles would also be destroyed.

The USSR expresses readiness to possess an equal amount of warheads with the Atlantic alliance countries, but fewer delivery vehicles than Britain and France. In this connection, it can be recalled that at the time when the Brussels decision was being taken, and subsequently, we were often told: If you agree to cut back the number of your missiles to the 1977-1978 level, there would be no need for additional siting of U.S. means. We propose to go even further and possess far fewer missiles and warheads than we did in 1976.

Socialist International Chairman W. Brandt very reasonably declared that this Soviet proposal de facto renders unnecessary the siting of new U.S. medium-range means in West Europe.

However, the U.S. response to our proposals is completely different. It stubbornly continued to insist on siting its nuclear weapons come what may, and has now started doing this. Just as before, it refuses to take British and French nuclear means into account.

They try to justify the siting of U.S. missiles by the need to counter the Soviet SS-20 missiles. But this is a lie. Responsible U.S. Administration spokesmen have themselves admitted that the missiles would have been sited even if the Soviet Union had not any SS-20s. This is also confirmed by secret NATO documents published by the British newspaper THE OBSERVER, which openly says: The U.S. missiles are not a response to the "Soviet threat." They are yet another link in the implementation of military and strategic plans conceived a long time ago by the Americans.

It is hence clear who can be blamed for wrecking the Geneva talks. It is the United States which, having started the siting of its missiles, undermines the very foundation of the talks and renders them pointless. It is very important for the public to understand well the hypocritical game being played by the White House, which is trying to make the public deaf and blind by a series of pseudoinitiatives meant for external effect but totally useless in substance.

The antiwar movement has forced the U.S. and West European governments to take evasive actions and even to pretend to be champions of disarmament. The hypocritical nature and duplicity of the bombastic words by leaders of NATO governments about their adherence to the ideals of peace and freedom are obvious to us. But this is not perceived by everyone. And our best assistant here is the actual political practice by the United States and NATO: cynical, crude, and amoral by nature. The daily comparison of the pompous words by leading figures in the West with their deeds is highly persuasive. It makes it possible to demolish the semblance of love for peace, which is

nothing but fraudulent camouflage whose purpose is to hide from the millions of people the real face of politicians who are preparing a nuclear war with cold cynicism. Moreover, Reagan wants to be reelected as president and wants to appear as "champion of peace" before the voters.

The latest U.S. propaganda trick was the decision it announced on the withdrawal of 1,400 U.S. combat charges from Europe over the next 5-6 years. But what are they really talking about? What is being planned in fact is not a true cutback, but a withdrawal from service of obsolete systems which are planned to be replaced by other more dangerous ones. In particular, it is planned to "cut back" 1,000 nuclear artillery shells, while new combat charges, including neutron ones, are already being manufactured in the United States to replace them. Moreover, the almost 600 Pershing and cruise missiles scheduled for siting are incalculably more powerful and dangerous than the combat charges being supposedly cut back. If the United States and NATO really wanted to reduce the nuclear threat, they could respond to the Soviet proposal on freeing Europe totally from tactical nuclear weapons, or at least not reject out of hand Sweden's proposal of establishing a zone free of "battlefield nuclear weapons" in Europe.

In the situation which has taken shape, the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries cannot allow themselves to be caught unawares and find themselves unprepared for the emergence of a new nuclear threat to their peoples. By agreement with its allies the USSR will be forced to take the counter-measures of which it warned long ago.

These countermeasures include:

--Reconsidering the USSR's decision on a multilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range means in the European zone;

--Implementation measures, by agreement with the other Warsaw Pact states, for the deployment of additional means with a view to creating the necessary counterweight to the growing group of U.S. forward-based nuclear means in Europe and the other NATO countries' nuclear arms. It is on this plane that the start of preparatory work for the deployment of operational-tactical missile complexes on the territories of the GDR and Czechoslovakia must be viewed:

--Implementing countermeasures with U.S. territory itself in view.

Countermeasures are not a threat but a necessity dictated by the vital security interests of the USSR and its allies. This is also demanded by the interests of ensuring world security, as the Warsaw Pact countries' counter-measures will be aimed at deterring the Transatlantic adventurers from the temptation to inflict a nuclear first strike in the hope of achieving victory in a "limited" nuclear war with its help. And this means that such measures are aimed at preventing the flareup of a global nuclear conflict, which would threaten all states and peoples without exception.

Now about Reagan's recent proposals at the talks on limiting and reducing strategic arms. He put forward a garish but thoroughly spurious formula:

"reduction through modernization." In fact, "reduction" Reagan-style provides for the United States to retain total freedom to deploy MX Midgetman and cruise missiles, new types of bombers, and other kinds of strategic weapons. And this would result not in a reduction but in an increase in the strike power of the U.S. nuclear potential and in the creation of new nuclear first-strike means. The American "initiative" proposes that those strategic means which are most developed in the USSR should be reduced to a far greater degree than the weapons the United States is strongest in. The U.S. proposal means that the USSR should radically reorganize the entire structure of its strategic potential at the cost of a tremendous effort, modeling it on the American potential.

As is known, the USSR proposes reducing the number of strategic carriers by more than 25 percent and lowering the total number of nuclear charges on them to agreed equal levels. We propose totally abandoning the deployment of long-range cruise missiles--at least, ground- and sea-launched ones--and closing all channels of the strategic arms race.

This is the situation characterizing the contrast between two courses in world politics. It is also graphically maintained in the approach to other talks on problems of ending the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race.

The American Administration has crudely broken off and does not wish to resume some talks at which the possibility of an agreement was already beginning to appear. And they concerned important questions such as we proposed: the total cessation of nuclear tests, the prohibition and liquidation of chemical weapons, the limitation of deliveries and sales of conventional weapons, the limitation of military activity in the Indian Ocean, and so forth.

The United States and other NATO countries stubbornly refuse to even begin other talks proposed by the socialist states. This list of opportunities of this sort--unrealized through the fault of the West--is very impressive.

As regards nuclear weapons, there are our proposals not to resort to the first use of these weapons, to ban neutron weapons, and others. The idea of freezing nuclear arsenals has received broad international dissemination, including among the population of the United States itself. The USSR wholly supports this idea. Its realization would not only halt the nuclear arms race but would also serve as a starting point for their radical reduction.

Nor has a reply been given to our proposals on strengthening guarantees of the security of nonnuclear states, creating nuclear-free zones, and preventing attacks on peaceful nuclear targets.

Nor does the United States want to reach agreement on banning the deployment in space of any kinds of weapons, including antisatellite weapons, on making Europe free of chemical weapons, and banning the development production of new types of mass destruction weapons systems.

Nor is there any response to the socialist countries' appeal to reach agreement on not increasing and subsequently reducing military spending in the

NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, the substantial reduction in the level of conventional arms and armed forces on a global and a regional scale, the restriction of naval activity, the limitation and reduction of naval armaments and the dissemination of confidence-building measures to the seas and ocean regions, and the liquidation of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of troops from foreign territory.

I would like to stress yet again very definitely that the Soviet Union does not intend to deviate from its principled line of halting and then curtailing the arms race. It will spare no effort in order to achieve a decisive breakthrough in this vitally important sphere for all mankind.

The siting of new missiles in Europe is a concentrated expression of the aggressive and antipopular essence of the imperialist course in the international arena as a whole. This threat is not regional--it is not restricted to West Europe. It also hangs over the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America too.

In the event of the siting of nuclear missiles, for example, in Italy, Washington would have the whole of the Mediterranean, including the Near East and North Africa, in its sights. And it would not fail to use this to exert "force of pressure" primarily against progressive and anti-imperialist forces and states.

The present U.S. Administration's aggressive militarist course taken as a whole and in all its manifestations creates an unprecedented danger both for the peoples of the liberated countries and for their progress and independent existence. It is no longer simply a question here of the threat of force so much as the physical use of force.

Grenada is the latest example of this. The long-term political consequences of this criminal act and the steadfast reaction to it among world public opinion are of tremendous significance for the antiwar movement throughout the world. The voice of protest of the progressive forces in Latin America and in other regions rings out loud. Their response to the armed aggression against Grenada shows that Washington has failed to achieve its broader aim--that of intimidating the freedom-loving peoples.

After the events in Grenada the task of preventing direct military aggression against Nicaragua stands out in even greater relief. Nicaragua is now the focus of the subversive activity of Washington, which has openly proclaimed the goal of overthrowing the Sandinist government.

As for the CPSU and the Soviet Union, no one should doubt our support for and solidarity with Cuba and Nicaragua. In particular, the Soviet Union supports all moves aimed at a political settlement of the situation in the region and specifically the all-embracing proposals put forward by the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments and the efforts undertaken by Mexico and the other "Contadora Group" states.

Another region chosen by the Reagan administration as a proving ground for the practical testing of its aggressive course is the Near East.

Unlike in the past, Washington is not now simply supporting Israeli expansionism here. It is now using its own military force against the Arabs in striving for a permanent military presence in the Near East. This is a threat to all the Arab peoples and to the world in general and predetermines the main task at the present moment--securing the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from Lebanon along with the withdrawal of the Israeli troops, of course. As for the "multinational nature" of the interventionist forces, their role should deceive no one; it is merely an indication of the extent to which the United States can influence its European allies and embroil them in its dangerous adventures on other people's soil.

The whole situation in Lebanon proves something else, as well: The Arab world has sufficient resistance forces capable of thwarting the U.S. Administration's schemes. This is demonstrated by the opposition to the aggressors from the Lebanese national patriotic forces of which communists form an important, integral part, and by the opposition in which a considerable part is also played by the armed forces of the Progressive Socialist Party.

On the other hand, our Arab friends are not closing their eyes to the fact that there are circumstances which make it difficult to rebuff imperialism. They are the disunity and passivity of the Arab states and the clashes and contradictions within the national patriotic forces.

The situation within the PLO and its main organization, Fatah, cannot fail to cause concern. Anxiety has been caused in our country by the events in northern Lebanon and by the armed clashes in the Tripoli region. All this weakens the cause both of the Palestinians and of the Lebanese national patriotic forces and also the cause of all Arabs. Everything must be done to help to end this fratricidal conflict. Both sides will lose from this conflict, the only winners will be the rulers of Israel and the United States. This, incidentally, also applies to the other internecine conflict in the region--the Iran-Iraq war.

Everything that happens in the Near East affects the USSR very deeply. And the course toward Soviet-Arab friendship remains unchanged. Ahead lies an even greater and more persistent struggle for the triumph of the just cause of the Lebanese and Palestinian people and of all the Arab peoples.

The Soviet Union displays consistent and specific solidarity with the people's anti-imperialist struggle, wherever it may take place. That also applies to the situation in southern Africa, where the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa, which the U.S. Administration has declared to be a "historical ally" of the United States, is suppressing the liberation struggle of the country itself and of Namibia, which it is occupying, and is waging an undeclared war against the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, whom the Soviet people have befriended and support.

While assessing soberly the full gravity of the present situation, we must at the same time see clearly that U.S. imperialism is far from omnipotent.

The U.S. Administration's adventurist course is causing mounting dissatisfaction and resistance. And that is understandable: After all, the White

House's policy runs counter to the chief realities, the basic processes of social development in our era, and the interests of the working masses and all peoples. The White House has resolved to do what no one has succeeded or will succeed in doing--reverse the development of history. That is why the policy of U.S. imperialism is inevitably encountering increasing resistance from the most diverse sides and is suffering setbacks and failures.

The attempts to shake the socialist community and to wrest Poland from the family of socialist countries met with a resolute rebuff. The policy of economic sanctions failed. What did they not do in an attempt to thwart the construction of the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod gas pipeline, but we constructed it ahead of schedule. The U.S. Administration's plans to isolate the socialist countries in the international arena with the aid of anti-Soviet, anti-socialist propaganda also failed.

Intervention with U.S. assistance against Afghanistan, interference in the affairs of the Southeast Asian countries, or attempts to "ban" the national liberation movement are failing to produce results.

Washington's efforts to cobble together in the Near East a bloc of countries which would serve as the bulwark of the U.S. "Rapid Deployment Forces," and to foist on the peoples of the region U.S.-Israeli tutelage under the so-called "Reagan plan" are failing.

In Central America the imperialist Goliath has not succeeded in intimidating the freedom-loving peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador or bringing them to their knees. The piratical attack on Grenada has generated angry indignation and resistance throughout the world. The United States cannot ensure support for its policy in Central America even from its NATO allies.

Reagan's economic policy has worsened the working people's material situation, led to record budget deficits, and caused the sharp aggravation of intra-imperialist contradictions and new upheavals in the currency and financial situation. The U.S. monopolies have received new funds and new benefits, but the underlying contradictions eroding the foundation of their rule have only intensified.

In the United States dissatisfaction with Reagan's domestic and foreign policy is growing and protests are being intensified against the unrestrained buildup of military expenditure and new militarist programs.

The forces capable of preventing a nuclear war have grown immeasurably. They include the socialist world, which in the postwar decades have advanced a long way in its economic, social and cultural development and in assuring its own defense capability and has been firmly established as a world sociopolitical system, as a powerful factor in international relations. This year's Prague conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee and the Moscow meeting of leaders of the European socialist countries demonstrated enhancement of the specific, businesslike coordination of the socialist countries' actions in the world arena.

They include the liberated and developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which have become a major independent force in world politics. Their role in international affairs continues to grow. The Nonaligned Movement, hewing to increasingly definite antiwar and anti-imperialist positions, have gained great prestige and influence.

They include the mighty modern working class which, despite the crisis situation and the increasingly brazen offensive against its rights and interests, begins to enter the antiwar struggle more actively and in a better organized fashion.

They include the communist movement and the revolutionary-democratic parties, the most ideologically committed and vanguard force of our times.

They include, finally, the unprecedented mass antiwar movement.

Last fall became a kind of review of its might, size, and influence. Millions of people took part in mass rallies, marches, and demonstrations. An unprecedented and most impressive demonstration of direct invasion of world politics by the masses occurred. It served as a grave warning to those who, ignoring the will of the peoples, intend to gamble with the fates of Europe and the world. It was noteworthy that even the bourgeois press, radio, and television were forced to admit that the antiwar movement, despite their own forecasts, has become a permanent factor of international politics.

Under these conditions, an especially great and responsible role has to be played by the communist and entire democratic press; it is for the invariable, and at times the sole source of truthful and complete information for the movement's participants about the movement's size and nature, both in their own countries and in other countries. It warns of actions by the movement's opponents and persistently and systematically explains the problems perturbing the antiwar movement and the initiatives launched by various organizations in a given country or in other countries. It is responsible to a large extent for preventing a feeling of despondency among the masses in foreign countries. From our viewpoint it is very important to explain the whole wealth of ideas the new antiwar movement has brought along with it. In the antiwar struggle the progressive democratic press can play the role not only of propagandist and agitator, but also of organizer of the struggle in its own country and on an international scale.

The antiwar movement in our country has its own forms, similar and dissimilar to those in the West.

They include, just like in the West, mass demonstrations by thousands of people, which are attended by entire families and their children.

They include an endless flood of letters to the CPSU Central Committee; the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet government, the central press, and the local newspapers. They include letters expressing anger and indignation, addressed by our people to the White House.

They include sums of money, whose volume has significantly increased over the past few years, sent by people of all ages and professions to the Soviet Peace Fund. It is these voluntary donations that finance the work of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and our other public organizations.

Over 140,000 different antiwar actions, in which 160 million Soviet people took part, have been held all over the Soviet Union since the start of the current year.

There is one fundamental difference between the antiwar movement in our country and the movements in capitalist countries. The Soviet people are not in confrontation with anyone in their country on questions of war and peace.

Their feelings, aspirations, and views take the form of program documents of the communist party and specific policies by the state. Yes, our country does not have a single social group, let alone a class, interested in wars or the arms race, or making a fortune out of preparations for war. All our plans are oriented toward construction and peaceful building. The Soviet military doctrine has a defensive character. This determines the basic goals and directions of Soviet foreign policy, which is, therefore, fully supported and approved by the Soviet people.

Imperialism, its special service, and its propaganda apparatus are doing everything to split the already international antiwar movement, confuse it, and prove that it is allegedly merely "impeding the politicians from solving the world's problems."

The United States and some of its more zealous allies now want to prove that, in their words, "the antiwar movement has lost the battle against U.S. missiles," and that it is therefore, so they say, ineffective and helpless. The facts, however, show quite the opposite. The antiwar movement has already made an enormous contribution to the struggle against imperialism's aggressive policy and for averting a thermonuclear war. It is precisely the mass antiwar movement that, by its actions, slogans, and international character, has promoted the formation in world public opinion of an atmosphere of non-acceptance of the U.S. Administration's reckless policy.

The siting of missiles in the NATO countries is creating a new situation which will require that the masses have explained to them even more persistently and graphically who is guilty of wrecking the talks and of starting a new spiral of the arms race, which has created the need for retaliatory steps by the socialist countries. It requires new slogans from the antiwar movement, which will be spearheaded at curtailing deployment and removing the Pershing and cruise missiles already in place. The peace-loving public realizes that the battle against the siting of the U.S. missiles must not only continue but intensify, since the danger of war is intensifying, and that the appearance of each new missile must be met with growing protest. Hence the persistent demands: "Do not site the new missiles!", "Remove all the deployed missiles!" and "No missiles and no nuclear weapons in Europe!" Moreover, it is most important for all to know that if this is implemented no retaliatory steps will follow from the Warsaw Pact states, and it will become possible to renew the talks.

The antimissile movement in West Europe even now is seeking ways and means of continuing the struggle. Reports are coming from various countries that, in this movement's ranks, plans are being elaborated to hold opinion polls, and "referendums" in higher educational institutions and industrial enterprises, and steps are being mapped out to step up the trade unions' antiwar activities. In the FRG and Britain a blockade is planned of bases earmarked for Pershing and cruise missiles.

In the new situation the demands to freeze nuclear arsenals and create nuclear-free zones in Europe as a whole, in individual regions of it, and in other regions of the world, retain all their urgency. A mass campaign in support of the Stockholm conference on steps to strengthen trust, security and disarmament in Europe, which is planned to open in January 1984, could be an important boost for the antimissile movement.

The most important thing is for the antiwar movement, in the face of the increased military threat and despite attempts to spike its guns, to become even more widely supported by the masses, active and effective, so as to scale new heights in the struggle for its historic goals.

The CPSU, of course, takes the dangerous international situation into account when determining its domestic political tasks. However, our party and the Soviet people will not allow themselves to be diverted from the principled Leninist course--the course of peace and creation.

The party and the Soviet people are now concentrating their efforts on fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, which were specified and developed by the November 1982 and June 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenums. We note with deep satisfaction the profound interest and understanding shown by the fraternal parties and their press in what the CPSU is doing on the domestic building front and how it is doing it. We are pleased that our friends highly assess the realistic, sober, and simultaneously bold and innovative approach by our party's leadership to economic and sociopolitical problems. It is imbued with the spirit of creative Marxist-Leninism and geared toward boosting in every possible way the masses' political awareness, and their labor and civic activeness. This approach requires an invariable unity between words and deeds.

The party has defined the stage that our country has embarked upon: it is the historic stage of the improvement of developed socialism which creates the conditions for the gradual transition to communism. The crucial practical tasks of the present time have been defined correspondingly.

On the content of work, the main priorities are now first to increase production efficiency by the intensification of production and to substantially increase labor productivity by accelerating scientific and technical progress; second, to resolve such major problems as the energy and food problems; third, to further improve the mechanism of socialist management so as to broaden the initiative of enterprises and individual collectives and to increase their potential in planning and the implementation of plans having first made the system of the planned leadership of the economy more efficient. The recently adopted Law on Labor Collectives and on Enhancing Their

Role in the Management of Enterprises, Institutions, and Organizations is expected to play an important role in intensifying the democratic principles of our entire life.

Our immediate task is to improve the procedure at all levels of our vast and powerful economic organism and to make more rational use of what was created in previous five-year plans--a mighty industrial, scientific and technical potential.

The party is waging a resolute struggle against those negative phenomena alien to socialism. In response we see the mighty counterwave of nationwide support from the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia. In general, it may be said that the whole tone of our society's life has been raised.

The results of the USSR's national economic development in the first 9 months of the current year showed that the measures outlined for accelerating the pace of economic development are being fulfilled. Steps are currently being implemented or prepared, which will give great scope for action by the socialist economy's colossal creative forces. Moreover, it should be stressed that the problems of increasing production efficiency are being solved in a socialist way, that is to say, not at the expense of the working people but for the sake of increasing people's prosperity and improving the conditions for spiritual and cultural life to thrive.

It is the party--which is full of resolve to achieve a new upsurge in socialist society and thereby gives great strength and attractiveness to socialist ideals--that is managing all these processes.

Our party itself--in a situation of increased responsibility for the country's fate, the prospects for socialism, and for maintaining peace on earth--is improving the methods of its activity in all directions: political, theoretical, ideological, educational and organizational.

The party and the Soviet state consider it their most important task to develop cooperation with the socialist countries, bearing in mind primarily the improvement of its quality and efficiency. This also means an improvement in political cooperation between the socialist community countries, attainment of a higher level of economic integration, and ideological rapprochement between our fraternal peoples. Special attention was drawn to this at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum. Our ties with the socialist community countries are more intensive than ever before.

An active role has to be played by the mass news media and the press in resolving the multifaceted and complex tasks of improving developed socialism. The June Plenum, devoted to ideological questions, put high demands on the media. In striving to comprehensively improve the work of the Soviet mass information media, the party proceeds from the fact that they also have to play an important role in ideological struggle in the international arena.

What are now, in the CPSU's view, the basic tasks of Soviet press in this sphere?

The press will continue to strive to explain convincingly and in a well-argued fashion the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries and to expose the totally false and slanderous myth about the "Soviet military threat." At the present stage we consider it especially important to help all people, both in our own country and abroad, understand to the utmost the just, honest and principled position of the CPSU on the question of nuclear missile weapons in Europe.

The Soviet press will continue to concentrate its blows on the most reactionary, most aggressive, and most disgusting manifestations of imperialism and bring to light imperialism's real goals, its brazen demagoguery, and its cynical, provocative methods. It will endeavor to help the millions of people perceive the sources of the growing military threat and see more clearly the social and political forces against which antiwar demonstrations must be directed.

At the same time the Soviet press will show that the current policy of reactionary circles--with its cult of force--is, in the final analysis, a sign of imperialism's inner weakness, its fear of socialism, its lack of confidence in the future. Not the least reason by far behind the frenzy of right-wing forces is the fact that the state-monopolistic policy, meant to overcome or at least alleviate the contradictions in the bourgeois system, has proved to be bankrupt. The Soviet press will continue to pay special attention to exposing the vices and sores of capitalism and demonstrate the interrelationship between the crisis of the capitalist system and the militaristic aspirations of the most reactionary section of the monopolistic bourgeoisie.

The Soviet mass information media have always been and will be vehicles of faith in the victory over the forces of war and reaction. At the present moment it is especially important to explain, prove, and convince that the warmongers are opposed by mighty forces and to show why, where, and how the adventurous U.S. course is encountering resistance, including in the United States itself where it constantly suffers defeat.

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## CRUCIAL TASKS OF SOCIALIST CULTURE

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[Article by P. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee  
Politburo and USSR culture minister]

[Text] The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum was a very important event in the life of Lenin's party and the whole Soviet people. The plenum generalized the tremendous experience of the party's ideological work, profoundly revealed shortcomings in ideological education, and laid down effective ways to rectify them. The chief feature of the Central Committee plenum documents is the very close link between the formulation of all questions of mass political and ideological-educational work and the resolution of contemporary socioeconomic and political tasks, and the mounting of aggressive propaganda activity in the very acute ideological struggle in the international arena.

Improving the standard of educational work, overcoming formalism and stereotype in it, skillfully organizing work with various sections of the population, ensuring a considerably higher new standard of ideological-theoretical activity, fashioning specially trained cadres, changing the work style of the political enlightenment and mass political training network, taking account of the antagonism--unprecedented in its intensity and acuteness--of the two diametrically opposed world views and two political courses of socialism and imperialism: these are the chief trends by which the party is seeking to improve the leadership of the development of our society's spiritual life.

The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum also set crucial new tasks for figures in the cultural and artistic world. The speech by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, the report by Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee Secretary Comrade K. U. Chernenko, and the plenum resolution received the approval and full support of the Soviet creative intelligentsia. Now a profound study of the Central Committee plenum documents has gotten under way everywhere and practical measures are being elaborated and implemented to put its decisions into practice. As shown by the regional conferences held by the USSR Culture Ministry to discuss the tasks of culture and art workers in the light of the June Plenum decisions, we have both increased opportunities and considerable reserves for the further improvement of the ideological and artistic standard of art and the social and ideological effectiveness of culture. The conferences stressed

the need to strengthen the links between art and culture and the resolution of contemporary, ideological-education, and socioeconomic tasks. Existing shortcomings were seriously criticized and ways to eliminate them outlined.

# I

The June Plenum clearly determined the culture and the arts must use all means at their disposal to help actively in the improvement of developed socialism. "We all can see," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov said, "how the influence of the arts on people's minds increases correspondingly with the growth of people's cultural standards. This also increases the opportunities for active involvement of the arts in social life. This means that there is a vast increase in the responsibility of workers in the arts for ensuring that the mighty weapons in their hands serve the cause of the people, the cause of communism."

The far-reaching changes occurring in the development of Soviet society's production forces, in production relations, and in the political and spiritual superstructure cannot fail to exert their influence on man's way of life and his awareness.

As a specific form of reflection and cognition of reality, the arts are called upon to disclose the main trends of our times, capture new phenomena in social life, influence man's world outlook and mentality, formulate his correct social positions, and wage an implacable struggle against everything contradicting socialist principles.

The arts media have to play a significantly greater role in actively asserting socialist principles and moral ideals. The questions of nurturing a sense of social duty, of creative and conscientious participation by working people in the building of communism, must find their artistic reflection in the arts. These questions cannot be considered as being resolved once and for all. As Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized in his work "Karl Marx's Teaching and Some Questions of Socialist Building in the USSR," "a people who have accomplished a socialist revolution must spend a long time getting used to their new position as supreme and inalienable owner of all social riches, getting used to it economically, politically, and, if you like, psychologically, developing collectivist awareness and behavior."

The socialist arts, with all their types and categories--theater, cinematography, music, painting, sculpture, architecture, and folklore--are doing much to nurture lofty communist awareness, Soviet patriotism, and socialist internationalism. Leniniana in Soviet arts has been enriched, and the scope of social and moral problems they cover has expanded. The arts have begun to expose more vigorously and more sharply the danger of negative phenomena in social life, of a consumerist and petit bourgeois mentality. Nevertheless, greater demands are now being made on its ideological functions. It is essential for the problems and subjects covered by the works being created and for their entire ideological and artistic meaning to be in line with the present stage of social development, with the tasks of nurturing lofty civic responsibility and communist awareness in the masses.

Much work has to be done here, with the long-term prospects in mind. The point is that the present time and its problems and a correct view of the future must be given an in-depth, highly artistic reflection in the activity of the theater, in musical works, and in the graphic arts. The classics of Soviet art set models for such reflection. These models must serve as guidelines for us today.

We cannot fail to see that recently an active shift toward topical themes has emerged in the activity of the creative intelligentsia. Contemporary themes are broadly presented in the repertoire of the country's drama and music theaters. Recently, for example, the Moscow theaters' repertoire has been supplemented with 117 new productions. The production of plays such as "Party Committee Session" by A. Gelman and "Steelworkers" by G. Bokarev at the M. Gorkiy USSR Moscow Art Academy Theater, "Arrival Day--Departure Day" by V. Chernykh at the Moscow Soviet Academy Theater, and "The Detached Man" by I. Dvoretzkiy at the Malaya Bronnaya Drama Theater marked the beginning of a profound dramatic elaboration of the great complex of problems of the working person's social and moral responsibility and the contemporary production theme. New plays by leading dramatists--S. Aleshin, A. Arbuzov, G. Borovik, S. Mikhalkov, E. Radzinskiy, V. Rozov, A. Salynskiy, M. Shatrov, A. Shteyn, and others--are appearing on the stages of Soviet theaters. Many theaters show great interest in contemporary prose. The staging of works by Ch. Aytmaov, M. Alekseyev, Yu. Bondarev, V. Bykov, D. Grain, G. Markov, and other authors has enriched today's theater billboards.

In the last theater season the theaters' repertoire was supplemented with new productions on a contemporary theme. Among these are "Landing Area Unknown" by B. Guvarev, "Equivalent to Four Frances" by A. Misharin, "The China Manifesto" by A. Chkaidze, and others.

However, it must be admitted that dramatists, producers, and creative collectives do not always display the necessary persistence in the production of topical plays on production, moral, and international themes. Yet, such plays are designed to determine the sociopolitical face of the Soviet theater.

Key problems of scientific-technical progress, the implementation of the Food Program, the development of socialist democracy, the ideological and moral education of young people, and the struggle for peace in contemporary conditions are still not given a profound enough interpretation and artistic solution. Nor can we fail to see manifestations of a peculiar neutralism in the approach to acute ideological problems, a passion in some places for foreign drama of a low ideological and artistic standard, and arbitrariness in the choice of subject matter. Unfortunately, we sometimes still come across serious errors in world outlook.

The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted that works in which unsuccessful destinies, disordered lives, and ineffectual and whining characters are sometimes highlighted have begun to appear too frequently. The dubious desire to flaunt "bold" interpretation of a theme to the detriment of real life, lack of principle, a conciliatory attitude to substandard ideological products a subjectivist bias in appraising works--all this reduces art's ideological-educational role.

The CPSU Central Committee resolutions "On the Creative Ties Between Artistic Literary Journals and the Practice of Communist Building" and "On the Work of the Party Organization of the Yanka Kupala Belorussian State Academy Theater" stressed that creative workers are called on to make their own contribution to resolving basic questions of working people's communist education, bearing in mind the chief goal, which is to enrich art with vital content and create highly artistic works which exert an effective influence on fashioning a Soviet person's active position, and that the image of a positive hero, close in spirit and time to the new generations of Soviet people, must be at the focus of attention of literary and artistic figures.

In recent years the tendency to make a profounder interpretation of the hero of our time and of the positive ideal has taken shape. At the same time we still cannot say that this process has produced results which are vivid and impressive enough to rank with the best Soviet classic works. If we ponder and look at life attentively, we can see such heroes living next to us. It is the new Soviet person, the participant in great labor achievements. It is the person who has devoted his life to the creation and defense of our mighty socialist power, the builder of communism. Yet a number of theaters put the emphasis on uncovering the features of the modern antihero. Of course, we need both satire and comedy, but they must always have a precise ideological goal. We still have very few good satirical works and witty comedies.

Basic topical problems of improving developed socialism, intensifying social production, improving planning and management, strengthening production discipline and public order, upholding a person's civic stance, and improving his culture must be reflected more broadly and opportunely in art. We must free ourselves resolutely from pettiness of subject matter and dull, expressionless productions which have no serious educational significance. We run competitions to select the best plays about the working class, the Soviet Army, youth, and contemporary international life. But so far the results of these competitions are not as considerable as we would have wished.

Some theaters and creative collectives live for many years on one particular successful production and do not display due activeness in seeking out new plays and dramatists capable, in coordination with the theater, of raising questions which concern society and providing answers to them. We do not have enough militant plays, operas on contemporary themes, or symphonies which attract the young and urge them on. The major sociopolitical events of our day are not always reflected in a highly artistic way in the figurative arts.

The CPSU Central Committee June Plenum sharply criticized the situation in variety show art. It was noted that, on the wave of popularity of this genre of artistic creation, musical groups with programs of dubious quality sometimes come to light, which causes ideological and aesthetic damage. The serious shortcomings which exist here must be resolutely overcome, while at the same time creating the conditions for improving the ideological and artistic standard of vaudeville are, making more active use of the possibilities of musical comedy, political satire, and the conversational genre, improving philharmonic activity, and propagating genuine art more broadly. We

are currently orienting concert organizations and all our creative forces toward this.

The role of party organizations, creative unions, and artistic collectives is increasing considerably in resolving contemporary tasks. We must seek to ensure that each communist sets an example of ideological conviction, civic maturity, and responsibility and actively upholds the principles of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and communist morality.

The role of party organizations, creative unions, and artistic collectives is increasing considerably in resolving contemporary tasks. We must seek to ensure that each communist sets an example of ideological conviction, civic maturity, and responsibility and actively upholds the principles of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and communist morality.

The role of the country's academy theaters in improving the ideological and artistic standard of all Soviet art is increasing significantly. Theater producers and directors are called on to perform both artistic and ideological-educational functions, to be able to unite a collective and direct it toward the resolution of the big tasks facing art.

The USSR Ministry of Culture is persistently seeking more effective forms of work and striving to set up effective liaison between producers and dramatists, composers and musical collectives, to pool the efforts of all detachments of the creative intelligentsia in resolving the main tasks, and to enhance Soviet art's ideological-educational role. Major attention is being paid to improving acting skill and training producer cadres and conductor cadres in accordance with modern requirements.

Crucial new tasks face the figures of Soviet literature and art in connection with the dangerous complication of the international situation and the sharp aggravation of the antagonism between the two opposite world outlooks and two political courses--socialism and imperialism. The aggressive, hegemonist policy of imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, and the deepening sociopolitical and spiritual crisis of bourgeois society reveal quite obviously the inhuman nature of capitalism. The historic mission of socialist culture--the preserver and augments of the best achievements of human civilization--is becoming increasingly clear to the peoples. This mission is being realized in the implacable struggle against imperialism's expansion in the sphere of ideology and culture.

Art must use its inherent means to make its contribution to the formation of a person who is ideologically and morally prepared to resolve increasingly complex and responsible social tasks, who can struggle purposefully and skillfully in any circumstances for the cause of Lenin's party, assert a collectivist, working morality and a high sense of responsibility for the destiny of his motherland and for the cause of peace and progress, and who will wage an implacable struggle against manifestations of bourgeois ideology.

To fulfill these tasks successfully, every artist and creator of spiritual values must have a clear world-outlook stance. Today it should be a case of

assimilating not only high skill but also a profound understanding of the world, making every representative of the Soviet creative intelligentsia an active fighter for progressive ideals.

An effective struggle against hostile ideology and all forms of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism is particularly necessary in our day when the policy of U.S. imperialism is pushing the world toward the abyss of thermonuclear war, when Washington has declared a "crusade" against communism and all the world's progressive forces.

Preparation has now begun for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism. That historic date must be marked by new works of great patriotic resonance. It is well known what an enormous part was played by literature and art in forming the ideological and moral stances of whole generations who had to enter into mortal combat with fascism and who honorably withstood the ordeals which were their lot. It has been decided to dedicate the next all-union competition for the best play on the subject of "the hero and the time" and the next stage of the all-union survey of the drama and theatrical art of the USSR peoples to preparation for the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War. Competitions for the creation and the best performance of military-patriotic songs, and an all-union survey of amateur artistic creativity will be dedicated to the notable jubilee. The 40th anniversary of victory is also closely linked with the jubilee dates of the birth of people's power in a number of fraternal socialist countries. These important events must also be considered in our creative organizations' plans.

The problem of improving the ideological and aesthetic standard of art is an ideological, creative, and organizational problem and at the same time a problem of the scale of thought of the modern artist, of his ability to understand and reflect correctly the main trends of the era, the complex underlying processes now taking place in society, and the specific nature of the struggle between the old and the new, the progressive and the outdated under the conditions of the mature socialism. The improvement of the ideological standard of works to accord with the requirements of our time and with the tasks of the ideological struggle is inextricably linked with the further development of aesthetic theory and literary and artistic criticism, the improvement of the entire system of ideological education work and the development of new, more effective forms of this work.

The USSR Ministry of Culture is taking steps to involve the artistic intelligentsia more widely in discussion of the key tasks of Soviet art and other important social problems, to considerably enhance the role and prestige of state commissions, and to intensify effective cooperation with the creative unions.

Scientific institutions and VUZes are now being given the crucial task of carrying out all-round study of the theoretical and practical questions of the culture of mature socialism, improving the standard of training of critic cadres, and creating fundamental works devoted to topical problems of artistic culture, the natural laws of the development of 20th century art, the

theory of socialist realism, and the creative practice of Soviet art. There is an urgent need to introduce new academic courses on topical problems of the party's policy in the field of culture and the ideological struggle in the cultural sphere at the present stage and to improve the standard of cadres' training in the field of the psychology of creation and teaching.

It is important to continue to improve the training of the creative intelligentsia, to seek increasingly effective forms for bringing them into contact with the tasks which Lenin's party is resolving and for involving them in the in-depth study of topical problems of society's socioeconomic and spiritual development, and to give every assistance in enriching the subject matter and range of problems in which art is involved with experience of communist building.

## II

The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum documents direct efforts toward further improving the entire system of mass cultural work. A characteristic trait of developed socialism, in terms of society's spiritual life, is the objective requirement to give people active and wide access to culture. High culture is required not simply to coexist with man, but to organically enter his way of life and become an increasingly effective factor in molding high labor standards, a healthy moral climate in labor collectives, and high political standards, to be the real ideological and aesthetic space, which makes it possible for each person to use his spare time productively in accordance with his own inclinations and interests.

In connection with the particular features of developing and intensifying modern production, the role of culture as a factor in restoring a person's physical and spiritual strength and in boosting the individual's creative potential is also increasing. Shortcomings in satisfying spiritual needs cause a drop in labor activeness and lead to the spread of anticultural phenomena. Large reserves in the struggle against various kinds of negative manifestations in people's behavior, habits, and way of life are to be found in further improving mass cultural work. It is required to actively promote the strengthening of social discipline, the molding of a conscientious attitude to labor, and respect for Soviet laws, the rules of socialist communal life, and the norms of communist morality. It cannot cut itself off either, from the problems of sensible consumption and consumer practice. In other words, it must be incorporated increasingly actively in the resolution of the risks involved in asserting a civilized socialist approach everywhere. This demand, formulated Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the plenum, has a direct bearing on mass cultural work.

In conditions in which we are improving developed socialism everywhere--not only in major cities, but in medium and small cities, and in the countryside--there is a growing requirement for a highly developed cultural environment. It is no accident that the struggle for high culture is acquiring the characteristics of broad mass movements. Whole regions such as Siberia, the Far East, and the Nonchernozem Zone, and republics such as the Ukraine and Belorussia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, and others are included in this movement.

The song festivals in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, the "tbilisoba" festival in Georgia, and the labor and harvest festivals in many of the country's oblasts and rayons are also notable in this regard. The foremost cultural traditions promote the cultivation of respect for the working man, Soviet patriotism, and internationalist, communist self-awareness.

The role of rayon centers in solving production tasks and in social and cultural building is constantly growing. Many party organizations have become more actively involved in strengthening culture's material base locally. For instance, a lot has already been done in the RSFSR to ensure that every rayon center has not only a culture center and a library, but also a people's theater, a music school, a cultural park or garden with sideshows, a people's museum, an art gallery or permanent exhibition hall, and an amateur movie studio. The 26th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress set the task of creating a full cultural complex in every rayon center, and this has become the direct guide to action for the republic's state organs and social and economic organizations. Similar work is under way in Belorussia, Uzbekistan, and other republics.

Qualitative changes are occurring in clubhouse construction. Around 15,000 centralized club systems and more than 2,500 cultural and sociocultural complexes are being set up. This makes it possible to increase the standard of services and to differentiate more sharply among the population's professions, age, and other features.

Long-term plans for further developing cultural, sociocultural, and cultural and sporting complexes are being mapped out. This work must be closely coordinated with Soviets, trade union and Komsomol organs, and the USSR Committee for Physical Culture and Sports.

The CPSU Central Committee June Plenum stressed that Soviet people's leisure must be richer and more interesting and promote the development of their gifts. Uniformity and standardization of cultural, educational, and club work and its reduction to the showing of movies and the passive acceptance of particular measures do not correspond to the interests of the working people and do not develop their creative inclinations. Amateur associations, personal interest clubs, circle, studio, and other forms of work have currently acquired broad popularity; and we have the task of filling these new forms with increasingly interesting activity.

Reliable successes in developing production and in consolidating cadres including young people and the intelligentsia, and educating and morally training them are also closely linked with the successful resolution of contemporary questions of cultural building. The experience of Bolnovakhskiy Rayon, Donetsk Oblast, is instructive. There have also been considerable achievements in mass cultural work in Abashskiy Rayon, the Georgian SSR, Stavropol and Altay Kray, Kokchetav Oblast, and other regions of the country.

Cultural and art workers approach the definition of their role and their participation in implementing the Food Program with a lofty sense of responsibility. Here it is a question of applying new methods and forms of work in

the countryside, improving cadre training, and involving the rural intelligentsia extensively in education work.

The USSR Culture Ministry Collegium has approved the work experience of the cultural institutions of Dmitrovskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, in mobilizing working people to increase agricultural production and fulfill the Food Program. The activity of cultural establishments was an important factor here for working people's moral and political education and production growth. There are also many interesting and useful elements in the work of Moldavia's cultural enlightenment establishments.

The experience in Rostov Oblast inhabitants is also instructive. The oblast has found an effective form of propaganda of progressive agricultural experience through cultural enlightenment establishment and through the active involvement of the rural intelligentsia specialists, and production front-runners, which has made it possible to raise this important work to a new level. In resolving questions of shaping the aesthetic makeup of the countryside, the population's bent for horticulture, floriculture, and other pursuits has been taken into account. The holding of a Women's and Mothers' Day considerably helped to expend the educational influence of cultural measures. At the same time urgent problems, particularly problems connected with strengthening the material base, improving the social prestige of workers in clubs and culture houses and centers, and improving the repertoire of amateur artistic activity, and so forth, are being solved satisfactorily by no means everywhere.

Today, effective coordination of all interested departments and social organizations is particularly important in order to effectively resolve questions of ideological and aesthetic education of masses and create the most favorable conditions for the development of a Soviet person's spiritual and physical culture. This is a matter for the whole people.

The role of libraries in the communist education of working people and in proving them with comprehensive information on key questions of social life is being enhanced under modern conditions. The growing need for knowledge, the differentiation of cultural requirements, the natural craving of increasingly broad masses for the latest scientific, technical, and political information, the growth of people's spiritual needs--all this places complex new tasks before libraries.

The centralization of libraries has been carried out in the country--which has considerably improved the efficiency of services to the population. Approximately 4,000 centralized library systems have been set up. The number of readers has increased by 24 million over the past 10 years. Measures have been taken to improve the libraries' information activity. However, centralization has not solved all the problems.

The problems of improving libraries' technical equipment, of transport services, and of more expedient formation and efficient utilization of book stocks remain acute. The further improvement of libraries' work will be assisted by the adoption of USSR library legislation, which will eliminate

the narrow departmental approach to the siting and manning [komplektovaniye] of the library network and make possible the more rational utilization of the huge book stocks for purposes of communist education.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Improving the Ideological and Educational Work of Museums (1982) points to the museums' increased potential in ideological activity. We now have different kinds of museums' sociohistorical and historical-revolutionary, military historical and historical-architectural, artistic and literary, ethnographic and polytechnical, memorial and regional. Museums of the USSR peoples' friendship should be regarded as a new and important phenomenon in the country's cultural life, with good prospects. The system of their ideological and educational work effectively helps to assert Soviet patriotism and the Leninist ideas of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

Our museums store tremendous historical, cultural, and scientific valuables. The CPSU Central Committee resolution emphasizes the need to profoundly reflect in the exhibitions the achievements of the society of developed socialism and the process of rapprochement among the nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet multinational state and to make active use of museums in shaping a scientific world outlook and in the working people's atheist education. Resolving the tasks set before them, museum workers organize mobile exhibitions and seek persistently to introduce scientific fundamentals of Soviet museum management and the latest scientific and technical achievements. The resumption of the publication of a special journal on problems of museum management will be of great significance to all museum management studies. Its first issue will be published this year.

Cadre training is now assuming fundamental significance. It must be planned efficiently in accordance with the real requirements, and it is necessary to strive to distribute cadres according to specialty and to create the necessary conditions for their successful work. There are difficulties here. There is still a large cadre turnover, and the proportion of specialists, particularly those with higher education, among cultural-educational establishment workers is insufficient. There is a sharp reduction in turnover where attention is given to cultural workers and where daily concern is shown for their professional growth and material security. The experience accumulated in the Ukraine's Ternopol Oblast is characteristic; it was the subject of discussion at the USSR Culture Ministry Collegium and is now widely known in the country.

We have developed a good system for training professional cultural and educational workers and adopted a policy of gradually transferring educational institutions to a higher schooling base. Whereas such educational institutions once existed only in certain major centers, today they are functioning in all the union republics.

The task consists in making fuller use, in conjunction with party, soviet and trade union organizations, of various forms of moral and material incentives for those cultural workers who display true professional skill, a creative approach to work, and selflessness and enthusiasm in their work. The USSR

Ministry of Culture envisages extending the practice of targeted, noncompetitive admission of rural youth to higher and secondary specialized cultural educational institutions and taking grant-aided students from kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and agroindustrial enterprises. Measures are planned to improve the publication of method repertoire literature for cultural-educational establishments. Additional possibilities are being sought for the fulfillment of construction plans for cultural establishments.

### III

The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum drew attention to the need to improve work aimed at the further mutual enrichment of our country's national cultures, to develop daily businesslike cooperation among cultural institutions and art figures, and to organically combine patriotic and internationalist education. As Comrade Yu. V. Andropov stressed in the report "Sixty Years of the USSR," "It is necessary to persistently seek out new forms and methods of work which meet present-day requirements and make it possible to make the mutual enrichment of cultures even more fruitful and to provide all people with even broader access to all the best things that the culture of each of our peoples provides."

The internationalist mutual enrichment of cultures is an objective requirement of our time. It should find practical expression in all spheres of cultural policy, in the shaping of the all-union theatrical repertoire, in the organization of guest tours, particularly abroad, and in the staging of different competitions, festivals, and exhibitions. At the same time these events are not a goal in themselves. They should be examined from the viewpoint of lofty social and ideological criteria and of their real influence on the masses' consciousness and on the ideological content of culture. This is a complex and multifaceted process which sometimes manifests itself differently in different spheres of art. Each sphere must find its own most effective methods of work. Successful forms have been found, for example, with regard to theatrical creation. The unionwide theatrical repertoire is becoming increasingly multinational. The permanent all-union festival of the USSR peoples' drama and theatrical art has provided a great incentive here. It was a step forward in the development of Soviet drama and of new forms of drama which enrich the theater's creative range.

Moscow--the capital of our multinational motherland--and also Leningrad, the union republic capitals, and other major cities play an ever increasing role in the international mutual enrichment of cultures. Tours by republic theaters and artistic collectives are held each year in Moscow, and all-union reviews and exhibitions are regularly held there. All this makes it a vast creative laboratory--something in which our capital can rightly take pride.

Moscow has become not only a nationwide but also a great international cultural center. Major international cultural events, festival, and arts competitions are held there.

But increased demands are not being made on Moscow alone now. Kiev, Minsk, Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Tbilisi, Baku, Kishinev, Tallinn and other union republic

capitals are hosts increasingly frequently to participants in and guests of all-union arts festivals and major international events. And this is a logical process which considerably raises the general tone of cultural life. It suffices to recall, for example, the profound response to the Soviet music festivals in Tashkent (1980), Tbilisi (1981), and Tallinn (1983). They were graphic confirmation of the profound international unity of cultures of our country's peoples.

The international fraternity of the cultures of the USSR peoples is also expressed in the joint work by the republics' creative collectives, the daily exchange of experience, the training of cadres, and other spheres. It is necessary to analyze these processes carefully, to detect new problems in good time, and to find the right ways to solve them.

The interaction of the fraternal cultures is now being filled with increasingly profound and multifaceted content. For example, the cultural service in such regions as Siberia and the Far East and the development of the culture of the RSFSR's Nonchernozem Zone have been the concern of all the fraternal union republics. The commemoration of major dates--the 1500th anniversary of the foundation of Kiev, the 250th anniversary of Kazakhstan's voluntary incorporation into Russia, the 200th anniversary of the friendship and fraternity between the Georgian and Russian peoples, and other dates--and the festivals of culture of autonomous republics are acquiring all-union significance.

The preparation for and commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation in all the union republics showed particularly graphically the enhanced role of fraternal cooperation for the genuine flowering of the culture of all the peoples of the Soviet land. This was also convincingly demonstrated by the union republic festivals held in Moscow and the combined jubilee plenum of the boards of the creative unions and organizations of the USSR and the RSFSR.

All the peoples of our country are now participating actively in the creation of socialism's cultural values. National theaters are functioning and detachments of the artistic intelligentsia have grown up and been consolidated in every union republic. The flowering of multinational socialist culture has become a powerful motive force for the spiritual development of Soviet society. A long-term plan is now being formulated for the exchange of theatrical groups among republics and the system of organizing tours by theaters and artistic collectives is being reexamined so as to ensure that the best achievements of Soviet art are shown to a broad audience in different parts of the country. In 1984-1985 Moscow will stage exhibitions of fine arts from the union republics.

The process of deepening international mutual enrichment in the spiritual sphere depends to a great extent on the thrust of our activity and on ensuring the growth of all the national cultures by developing their progressive traditions. We must continue to oppose those viewpoints which hold that the present-day process of international mutual enrichment leads to a "violation" of true national features and cultural traditions, just as we must continue

to oppose a cosmopolitan direction in cultural development. The dialectical interconnection between international and national principles is a logical feature of the process of the establishment and development of socialist culture.

#### IV

The documents and decisions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum provide guidance toward the comprehensive improvement of the style and methods of work and toward enhancing its efficiency. The main task is to ensure that conditions are created everywhere which promote works of a high ideological and artistic content and to learn how to work with the creative intelligentsia tactfully and, at the same time, from standpoints of high party exactingness. We are drawing particular attention to the creation of a healthy creative atmosphere and to enhancing the standard of ideological-educational work in all collectives and primarily in our renowned creative organizations such as the USSR Bolshoy Theater, the Leningrad S. M. Kirov Academy Theater of Opera and Ballet, the USSR Moscow Arts Theater, the USSR Malyy Theater, the Leningrad M. Gorkiy Bolshoy Theater, the Moscow State Conservatoire, the USSR Academy of Arts, and others, which are the flagships of Soviet art. They could set a model and an example in all things. The main thing now is to ensure their renewed creative development.

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov said at the June Plenum: "The party supports all who enrich science and culture, it helps to educate the working people in the spirit of the standards and principles of developed socialism. It treats talents and the artist's creative search with consideration and respect and does not interfere in regard to the forms and style of his work. But the party cannot be indifferent to the ideological content of art. It will always channel the development of art to ensure that it serves the interests of the people." Socialist art has a firm scientific basis and objective criteria elaborated by Marxist-Leninist aesthetics, which make it possible to determine the mainstream of its development and at the same time to correctly assess any negative tendencies and to put them right in good time. In the West people often claim that there is no freedom of creation in our country. If what is meant by freedom of creation is license to put out any sort of work, irrespective of its ideological content and artistic value, then such freedom simply cannot exist. Freedom of creation in our country is guaranteed by the USSR Constitution. It is true freedom to produce high-minded and highly artistic works, freedom to produce genuine art which serves the cause of communist building.

We must get the artistic intelligentsia interested in the aims and tasks set by the party, provide moral and material incentives for the best achievements, create a sound, businesslike atmosphere aimed at achieving greater responsibility, principle, and discipline in all collectives, and courageously explore new paths which can produce considerable social, ideological and educational results.

The education of the creative young generation must always be a focus of attention. The serious criticism of shortcomings in civic and labor education leveled against schools at the Central Committee plenum also applies to

educational establishments in the sphere of culture. We are endeavoring to elaborate and implement effective measures to further improve the ideological-political and world-outlook education of students and to deepen the link between ideological educational and professional training. The mentorship system and work with trainees need improving. The traineeship period is not merely a continuation of apprenticeship. Here an atmosphere of joint quest and trust must be established, and at the same time the creative thrust of young skilled operatives must be tactfully directed. The creative younger generation must be involved more actively in the practical solution of the responsible tasks facing Soviet art and education in concrete action.

We have a lot of work to do in the sphere of improving the entire system of the young people's aesthetic education and the work of music and art schools, which are expected to form high artistic tastes in children and juveniles. To implement the current tasks in aesthetic education, vigorous efforts on the part of our general education schools and other educational establishments are also needed. Patronage work must be channeled toward resolving these tasks.

Organic correlation and interdependence between socioeconomic and cultural development is becoming an objective need in our society. This need must be increasingly fully reflected in planning and in defining the prospects and main directions of cultural building.

The rapid development of television, radio and sound recording and the active utilization of other modern scientific and technical means are factors of spiritual progress, which is becoming virtually all-embracing and is involving millions of people. At the same time a certain danger arises in the spread of a consumerist attitude to culture.

Increasing importance is attached to the pooling of efforts by various departments in resolving joint tasks, to constant, effective contacts between cultural organs and the mass media, between departments and organizations of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the State Committee for Cinematography, and the USSR Committee for Physical Culture and sport and the creative unions, secondary and higher schools, and trade union organs, and to the implementation of a common line in aesthetic education.

A cultural worker nowadays must not only have the necessary professional knowledge but must have acquired the ability to work with various groups of the population, taking into account their changing and considerably increasing interests and requirements.

A most important demand today is to focus attention on live organizational work and the achievement of concrete, positive results by means of it. Profound comprehension of the main aims of activity, understanding of the means and realistic ways toward achieving these aims, party principle and initiative--these are the invariable preconditions for enhancing work efficiency. We are resolutely endeavoring to overcome the passion for meetings, excessive paperwork, and the adoption of too many decisions on one and the same question. Efficient activity must result primarily in new achievements in culture and art, in the force of their ideological and artistic impact, and in

satisfying the growing spiritual requirements of Soviet citizens. Cultural establishments are expected to act everywhere as strongpoints of the party's ideological and educational work.

To successfully resolve the tasks set by the party today means to achieve a considerably higher ideological and artistic level of Soviet art and provide for the development of all socialist culture in accordance with the objective demands of mature socialism. That means contributing to the education of the new man, capable of actively participating in the implementation of present tasks of communist construction.

Soviet socialist culture is playing an ever-increasing role in strengthening friendship and cooperation among the socialist countries; peoples and in rendering effective assistance to cultural building in developing countries and improving mutual understanding among peoples. In the current, seriously exacerbated international situation the role of cultural exchanges is increasing in normalizing the spiritual climate of the planet, counteracting militarism, and actively propagandizing the peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is growing.

The extensive introduction of Soviet culture in the international arena and the development of cultural exchanges demand that attentive consideration be given to the specific features of various countries and regions, that foreign cultural productions which reach our country via the channels of cultural exchanges be carefully selected, and that major comprehensive measures in connection with events of this kind be well-considered and prepared. Particular attention must continue to be paid to the ideological, political, and moral tempering of cadres traveling to foreign countries. It is beyond doubt that, following the time-tested Leninist path, socialist culture will scale new heights and continue to act as a mighty force in the struggle for the cause of the party and the people, for the affirmation of the lofty ideals of communism.

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## PLACE OF HIRED LABOR IN MARX'S THEORY AND TODAY'S WORKING CLASS

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[Article by Dr of Economic Sciences E. Pletnev]

[Text] K. Marx developed his economic theory for the sake of the liberation of hired labor as the political economy of the working class. In his view, a special theory on hired labor was to become one of the links in the chain of scientific proofs of the historical mission of the proletariat as the main productive and revolutionary force of mankind.

"I consider the bourgeois economic system in the following order: capital, land ownership, hired labor, state, foreign trade and world market," Marx wrote in his work "On the Critique of Political Economy" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 13, p 5).\*

The great thinker and fighter, who had a gigantic creative potential, was able to fulfill this incredibly difficult task. Following the publication of the first volume of "Das Kapital," Engels noted that "this is the first work in which the actual relations which exist between capital and labor are depicted fully and clearly..." (vol 16, p 381). The discovery of the added value led to the proof that the appropriation of unpaid labor is the essence of the capitalist exploitation of hired labor. However, the intensification of such exploitation through the development of large-scale machine output inevitably unites the revolutionary proletariat as well. The very course of history makes it the vanguard of all the oppressed and exploited in their struggle against capitalism. Marx's fundamental conclusion on the vanguard role of the working class in the revolutionary organization of the world is particularly relevant today, in our complex and conflicting age.

### I

The theoretical discovery of the nature of hired labor begins with the place which Marx found for this category in the system of political economy. It is invariably placed after capital or side-by-side with it and grows with it "from the same root." This theoretical "root" was the discovery of the inevitable companion of capital--"the commodity of a special kind" or the manpower of the exploited direct producers. The key to the discovery of the

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\* Subsequent references of the works of K. Marx and F. Engels will be indicated by volume and page only.

commodity form of the human ability to work was given to Marx with his pioneering application of the dialectical method to the study of economic phenomena and seeing behind the objects processes of the division of the "labor" category, considered "age-old" by bourgeois political economy, into labor at rest (manpower) and labor in motion (labor process). Marx proved that hired labor and capital are two inseparable sides of the main production relations under capitalism.

Under the influence of the life-creating force of labor the value of production tools, transformed into capital, begins to grow as though by itself, i.e., to bring additional value. From the very beginning the historical form of hired labor mandatorily includes added labor which "in terms of its nature always remains forced labor, although it may be the result of a freely contracted agreement" (vol 25, part II, p 385).

On the surface of bourgeois relations hired labor acts only as the creator of the equivalent of the necessary part of the value (see *ibid.*, pp 390-393). The source of the wage is "to the worker his manpower or, rather, his work itself (since he truly sells his manpower which appears only as itself...)" (*ibid.*, p 389). However, the payment for labor and, put even more eloquently, "the price of labor" is as irrational as a "yellow logarithm" (see *ibid.*, p 385).

It is precisely in such a historically specific form--hiring--that human labor in general becomes part of the basic capitalist production relation. In other words, labor is part of the basic production relations of bourgeois society from a side essentially different from capital. Whereas productive capital, converted into an advanced value, most adequately expresses the general essence of all exploiting systems--the insatiable thirst for the coercively appropriated added product--labor becomes part of the basic production relations of capitalism through the specific form of the appropriation of its constructive potential by the nonworking people--the owners of capital.

On the surface of the capitalist society and, therefore, in the minds of the vulgar economists, this inclusion within the same production relation is conceived as a "community of interests." Marx sarcastically wrote on this subject that "as long as the hired worker remains a hired worker his fate depends on capital. This precisely is the notorious commonness of the interests of the worker and the capitalist" (vol 6, p 445).

It is possible now to present the linking of capital and labor in an antagonistic form within the basic production relation in a logical manner, as their simultaneous and countermovement along the threads of the same spiral.

Marx chose the type of research logic which theoretically depicts the actual counterrun in the dynamics of capital, on the one hand, and labor, on the other. That is why Marx placed the study of wages--the converted form of value and cost of manpower ("Das Kapital," part VI, vol 1) along with the discovery and mechanism of production and acquisition of added value, and the determination of its mass and norms and basic forms of its increase,

directly following these profound essential characteristics of the basic production relation of capitalism. The beginning of a logical spiral--the line of study of capital--coincides with the final turn of the second spiral--the study of the nature of hired labor. That is why in the study of all other study of the nature of hired labor. That is why in the study of all other converted forms of added value--profit, interest and rental ("Das Kapital," part VII, vol 3), "income and its sources"--Marx formulates basic conclusions on the profound nature of labor and its free development as a prerequisite for the acquisition of true wealth. Once again the concluding spiral of knowledge of capital--of its superficial manifestations--coincides with knowledge of the nature of labor--the creative content of man's creative power.

Therefore, since hired labor and capital move along different lines, under capitalism the working class is the result of the two polar trends. Capital increasingly refines the technique of exploitation and plunder of the working people, while the army of hired labor gains in the course of the class battles an increasing power for countering this yoke. Capital tries by all possible ways and means to channel this result into the bed of its interests.

It acts according to circumstances. Whereas 19th-century capitalism was interested in tying to the machines untrained children and adolescents, 20th-century capital finds it profitable to assign young people who have gone to school for 9-12 years or longer to manage complex technological systems. The investment cycles have begun to include long-term programs for manpower training, most of them for subsequent rather than current cycles.

The increased length of the cycle of manpower training primarily in the general schools has made it possible to reproduce it on the basis of a wide range of professions and skills. As long as the duration of a profession equaled approximately the length of the physical and moral wear and tear of machine systems, the dependence of the turnover of the active part of productive capital on the dynamics of hired labor did not exceed the framework of the general "concerns" of each investment cycle (based on 15 to 20 years of life of manpower of a given skill on a machine).

The turning point occurred when the lifespan of skills and professions began to drop to 4-8 years. Today each industrial cycle is paralleled by 1.5, 2 or even more cycles in professional changes and periods of partial and total retraining of millions of workers. The existence of trained workers stimulated the faster change of equipment. This influenced the general trend toward reducing the length of full industrial cycles from 12-10 to 9-7 years (between the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1980s). Naturally, one could not expect a full coincidence between the changes in profession and the updated technology. As a result, in many countries during that period the number of job vacancies exceeded the overall number of those laid off.

The reaction of capitalism to the objective requirements of the scientific and technical revolution was not unexpected. Everywhere it opposed the prime development of the human factor within the system of productive forces. During the 1970s and 1980s private enterprise began to focus its main efforts on turning technology back, so to say, i.e., from the use of a highly educated and trained manpower to a new, progressive and newly labor-intensive

technology--to a capital-intensive technology and to the cyclical development of the old type in which labor tools will regain the faster growth.

It is by virtue of this trend in monopoly capital toward resuming a cyclical development based on the old capital-intensive model that mass unemployment in countries with private enterprises increased and will continue to increase in the forthcoming years regardless of the phases of the cycle.

The reason for the counter- and diverging movements of capital and labor, inherent in reality and reflected in the methodology of its theoretical study, is the fact established by Marx that each one of these movements is self-propelled. However, whereas the "self-growth" of capital is merely the appearance of a self-movement, the result of the steady resurrection of past labor through the activities of present labor, the self-dynamics of live labor increasingly acts through the "portions" of progress, "allocated" to it by capital, such as the aspiration toward the boundless development of man himself, of the individual who tears off the chains of capitalist exploitation in his self-development. In Marx's idea it is precisely "along that line" of capitalist production that the development of human forces occurs, becoming a self-seeking aim and the real kingdom of freedom.

As underground springs rush across all natural obstructions, by breaching all social obstacles hired labor establishes its own power of development and self-development. In the realm of the production process, where manpower is trained, and in the arena of leisure time, where the self-awareness of its bearers is manifested, hired labor is shaped as an army increasingly opposing capital. In the course of the accumulation of capital itself, as Marx proved, there occurs not only a parallel quantitative but a counterdirected qualitative growth of the proletariat. "The free manpower develops for the same reason as the power of capital expansion" (vol 23, p 659). These words, full of most profound prophetic meaning, prove that merely by relying on the impoverishment of the masses we cannot reach the revolutionary conclusion of the vanguard role of the working class in the reorganization of society. To Marx the inevitable revolutionary action of the proletariat proceeded not from the study of the depth of the precipice in the distribution of wealth alone but also from the proof of the enhancement of this class in the course of the development of the production process and the social battles.

That is why Marx scrupulously studied manifestations of proletarian power such as its increased numerical strength in the general population mass, its enhanced role in public production and the organization of the proletarian army. Lenin paid particular attention to this aspect of the problem. Unlike Bukharin, who estimated the "social power" of the proletariat only on the basis of its level of organization, Lenin pointed out the following:

"One should add:

"1. Numerical size;

"2. Role in the country's economy;

"3. Ties with the toiling masses;

"4. Its level of organization" ("Leninskiy Sbornik" [Leninist Collection], vol 11, p 391).

Lenin did not only discover new sources of strength of the working class by adding to the arsenal based on Marx's theory of hired labor. He presented a splendid example of the political upbringing of the masses through revolutionary theory. Lenin pointed out the need to enhance the vanguard qualities of the working class already during preparations for the revolution, in order to use the revolutionary reorganization of society for the comprehensive enhancement and harmonious development of all working people.

The assumption by the Marxist-Leninist parties of the role of revolutionary vanguard of the international labor army gave the working class insurmountable power. The main thing is for the communists, armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, to see more profoundly and accurately the essence and the future of processes occurring in the world and draw from this accurate conclusions in terms of their struggle for the interests of the working class and working people of all countries and for democracy, peace and socialism.

## II

In developing the idea that any exploiting society, which had reached its apogee, has the aspiration to attract to its side a specific exploited stratum, Marx and Engels noted the way in the classical capitalist country--England--starting with the second half of the 19th century, using its privileged position gained on the world markets, the bourgeois bribed the majority of the English proletariat. The unpaid appropriation of some of the labor product of other nations, based on global prices, did not officially mean any violation of the law of value. Essentially, however, it expressed a disproportionate concentration of price-forming factors in that country and its monopoly status as the global "master," carrier, buyer, banker and insurance agent. It was thus that, along with the capitalist class, a "bourgeois proletariat," a "worker aristocracy," appeared in England.

As the size of the hired labor army increased with the further concentration of the production process, it proved beyond the possibility of the bourgeoisie of even the richest capitalist country to bribe most of it. As Lenin proved in his study of imperialism, substantial changes had occurred by the turn of the 20th century in the scale of the shaping and structure itself of the "worker aristocracy." From an initially British phenomenon, which the thick stratum of "worker aristocracy" represented, it converted into an international rather thin stratum of "worker lieutenants" who stood between the army of hired labor and its exploiters. The source of bribery of these splitters and corrupters of the working class was the colonial superprofits extracted by the monopoly bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries which had rushed ahead in grabbing foreign lands. For decades the "worker aristocracy" objectively acted as the carrier of the trend of belittling the industrial proletariat as though from within itself. Through its sallies on the side of the bourgeoisie during decisive class conflicts it shifted the "momentum of

the proletarian pressure lever to the detriment of the latter. As the social support of opportunism, the "worker aristocracy" was helpless to prevent blood-shedding international conflicts which broke out among the exploiting classes in their competitive struggle for world markets and raw material sources. For decades it acted as a peacemaker between the "communards" and the "Versaillists," feeling that its intermediary status would inevitably take it into the camp of the latter.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which announced the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism, politically buried once and for all the old "worker aristocracy." The scientific and technical revolution which developed in the course of the confrontation between the two social systems, while destroying in capitalist countries the "artistic" production sectors in which most of the "worker aristocracy" had settled, serving primarily the capitalists (couturiers, cabinet makers, workers in the printing trade, jewelers), combined with the loss of former colonial superprofits by the imperialist countries, deprived this "proletarian" offspring of capital of its economic support.

From the viewpoint of the theory of scientific communism, the general crisis in capitalism is a grandiose process of the historical ascent of the working class and descent of the bourgeoisie from the historical arena, a time when these opposite fates of the two classes are openly manifested in the confrontation between the world of real socialism and the irreversibly undermined society of "overripe" capitalism. The political economy of the working class indicates where the profound sources of the shifts in the situation of the segment of that class which has not as yet rejected the specific appearance of hired labor may be found.

Let us start with the fact that the scientific and technical revolution itself, one of whose main aspects is the use of trained manpower in production, has a double impact on hired labor. On the one hand, by involving in the production process an increasing number of workers performing complex jobs, i.e., those trained in the fundamentals of science, it broadens the range of exploitation of the working people. Together with the physical, the nervous-mental and intellectual-cultural the power of the individual becomes a source of absolute and relative added value. This enslaves increasingly new facets of the individual in the interest of the "self-growth" of capital, thus lowering the status of hired labor. On the other hand, the new requirements of the scientific and technical revolution which manpower must face and the development of its mastery of science and technology, logical and computing capabilities, memory and reaction for efficient intervention in complex production and management processes, erode the distinctions between technical and general standards, bring knowledge closer to self-awareness and enhance hired labor.

The growth of the share of intellectual labor at work and in the general structure of the army of hired labor, in turn, has a double impact on the production of added value. It enriches and at the same time exhausts the sources of its growth, for the enhancement of hired labor includes the possibility of the appropriation by capital of the results of the intellectual

development of the working people. Beyond a certain limit, however, it is fraught with an awareness of the subjective inability and fear of the exploiters to offer mental jobs to the proletariat while appropriating entirely the process of someone else's thinking. In this case the disparity between the dynamics of hired labor and capital inevitably leads to their violent parting and revolutionary explosion.

So far, bourgeois society has been able to a certain extent to combine its efforts to belittle hired labor with a tendency to use the scientific and technical revolution with the help of enhancement surrogates. This "enhancement" of hired labor at the present stage conceals a number of important characteristics in the status of the army of hired labor, the working class in the "overdeveloped" capitalist countries above all.

On the economic side the contemporary proletariat faces the refined and whimsical requirements of the scientific and technical revolution regarding the outlays of the workers' vital energy and, consequently, the volume and means of its restoration and development, its so-to-say running and capital "repairs." Hence the establishment of substantial funds for crediting consumption, social insurance and pensions. However, no accumulations of funds are allowed to remain "idle" by the monopoly corporations and banks, and without participating in the capital investments made by big business. Some bourgeois reformists, who estimate that the share of such savings in total investments will be considerable (as much as one-half of all U.S. capital shares by 1985) are enthusiastic about the "silent" advent of some sort of "pension socialism." Although such reserve funds established from the income of the working people are used without any control today as capital investments by their antagonist--monopoly capital--illusions of "pension socialism" have sunk roots in the minds of some workers in the United States, Western Europe and Japan.

From the social viewpoint the conflicting nature of the influence of the scientific and technical revolution and the characteristics of the general crisis of capitalism in its current stage on hired labor is that the new requirements regarding the shaping and reproduction of contemporary manpower are achieved not automatically but through an uninterrupted class pressure by the working people on their class opposite, monopoly capital. Since under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution idling of expensive equipment and technology during strikes by hired personnel is fraught with heavy damages to the corporations, under the pressure of the masses the monopoly bourgeoisie was forced to agree to the establishment of an almost permanent institution of collective bargaining with workers in all industrially developed capitalist countries. The consolidation of the socioeconomic gains of the proletariat in the class struggle through the collective bargaining mechanism created in a significant number of workers a reformist faith in the exceptional effectiveness of this (and this alone!) method in improving hiring and working conditions and the "quality of life." Thus, "social partnership" with capitalism is preferred to the burdens of the revolutionary struggle. It is true that the general crisis of capitalism, which became aggravated over the past 15 years, struck also at the practice and mentality of collective bargaining between entrepreneurs and workers

without, however, by far not eliminating the belief of the latter in such "meetings" behind the round table.

In the political sense, the attraction of the reformist strata in the working class for a peaceful "dialogue" with private enterprise expresses the caste nature of some Western trade unions, which separates the most highly paid stratum from the bulk of hired labor. Hence their hostility to state intervention, "any kind of planning" and even socialism in general.

On the international level, the material situation of this segment of the working class is a privileged one (like the old "worker aristocracy"), compared to hundreds of millions of working people who were recently freed from colonial oppression but have not yet rejected its neocolonialist vestiges and oppression. Bourgeois propaganda and science zealously instill in the workers that they owe their decent existence under the conditions of a consumerist "comfort" (ignoring the multimillion-strong army of unemployed) "to his monopoly highness" capital and that without it they would sink to the poverty and privation suffered by the working people in the former colonies. Hence the appearance of an "aristocratic" privileged status of the proletariat in countries with a highly developed state-monopoly economy compared to billions of working people in the developing countries.

Nevertheless, even in international comparisons, the more or less regularly employed percentage of the industrial proletariat cannot be depicted as "worker aristocracy" under contemporary capitalism, for it is precisely this proletarian army trained for complex work in the industrially developed capitalist countries that accounts for the lion's share (four-fifths to five-sixths) of the added value appropriated by the monopolies, while its wages as a whole do not exceed the value of their own manpower. The older "worker aristocracy" earned higher wages based on the added product created by the lagging detachments of the proletariat. Under the conditions of contemporary capitalism it is unquestionable that a certain number of the personnel employed by the military-industrial complex and imperialist countries benefit from the superprofits extracted from the entire army of working people.

From the viewpoint of the political economy of the working class, war production and consumption are unproductive processes. The exploitation of hired labor in this area of capitalist production relations essentially consists of the free transfer of added labor from the productive economic sectors, which also becomes the source of excessive profits (ranging from 200 to 2,000 percent). The military-industrial corporations are using the most refined methods in an effort to develop in their personnel a "solidarity" with their interests in manufacturing weapons and ammunition and to interest the workers with monetary and social gifts in the fields of education, housing, living conditions and recreation.

However, the nature of the incompatibility of the development of monopoly capital and hired labor is such that even with an obvious turning of the scientific and technical revolution back and its transformation into a counterrevolutionary military and technical turn, the training and education of the worker in the course of the production process itself is not interrupted.

The working personnel in the military-industrial complex is beginning to realize that the deadly output for mass destruction is manufactured against its own self and that capital has assigned to it the role of mindless suicides.

The flash of realization of the danger, which strikes the brain of the working class, activates its mind--the mind of a great class, of the transformer of society. This light of the proletarian mind has shed a light on the path of the socialist revolutions in our century. The light of the ideas of the anti-imperialist and antimonopoly struggle and of the global antiwar movement has given eyes to hundreds of millions of people. This was the hope of Prometheus-Marx, who prophetically charted the high road of toiling mankind to its liberation.

Both at the birth of the communist movement and today, the sinister forces of international reaction have rallied for the sake of persecuting it--the North American plutocrats and Latin American "guerrillas," the British Tories and West German neofascists and clericals of all hues, and feudals. All obscurantists and militarists have thoughtlessly plunged into a global "crusade" against the communists. The communists are being discriminated against, deprived of civil and political rights, thrown in jail and crucified for their convictions alone, for belonging to the party of the working class. However, an increasing number of working people are realizing that the communist parties are indeed the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch.

### III

The socialist revolutions announced the inevitability of the change from hired slavery to a collectivistic social structure. The creation of real socialism confirmed Marx's great thought which he expressed in the "Constituent Manifesto of the International Association of Workers:" "...Hired labor is merely a transitional low form which must yield to associated labor performed voluntarily, with readiness and enthusiasm" (vol 16, p 9). Associated labor, which means a collectively realized combined use by all members of society of their creative potential as a single manpower, is intrinsically the opposite of hired labor as a coercive and alienating form of manifestation of man's constructive capabilities.

In "Das Kapital" Marx brilliantly depicted future society as the "alliance of free people, working with common productive capital and systematically...expanding their individual manpower as a single social manpower" (vol 23, p 88). This is a society of an all-embracing combination of associations encompassing the producers of all goods. Consequently, the ability of every member of the socialist commonwealth to work cannot be manifested as an active principle without combining it with the manpower of the labor collective which, in turn, increases the force of its collective work by becoming a direct part of the public production process. In other words, society does not have to "combine" the manpower of the individual with productive capital through hiring (purchase and sale), for under socialism no separation whatsoever exists between the personality and the material factors of production forces.

The practical involvement of the members of society in their freely associated labor presumes the free choice of an arena for the application of the efforts of every individual in accordance with the type of training he has been given by society and planned deployment in space--by territory, sector and production nucleus--of public productive capital which provides jobs to professionally interested individuals.

This inclusion of the workers in the social labor process, described with the old term of "hiring," is a new specific form of access, guaranteed to all able-bodied members of society--"comrades in labor"--to the utilization of social productive capital, organizationally broken down into primary collective production cells. Consequently, this "hiring" loses both its political-economic and commodity meaning.

"In terms of socialism, which wants to free manpower from its commodity status, it is very important to realize that labor neither has nor could have value. This understanding removes the ground from any attempt at regulating the future distribution of means of existence as a kind of superior form of wages....," Engels wrote (vol 20, p 206).

This prediction was increasingly confirmed with the building of real socialism. The elimination of private property, exploitation and unemployment and the establishment of the public ownership of productive capital and the universality of labor radically changed the status and role of the working people, making them collective managers of the conditions for the application of their manpower. Hired labor yielded to associated labor. This revolutionary change in real relations required a radical review of the political and economic content of all theoretical categories and concepts. Deprived of its previous political and economic content--the functioning of combining manpower with productive capital--to a certain extent the form of hiring relations has a meaning only as a means of including the manpower in the production process and within a specific labor collective in a predetermined planned position. Hence the essentially new content of hiring relations during the socialist stages of the communist society, essentially surmounted yet used as a form.

No less profound changes are introduced by socialism in the area of wages, an economic form which was previously organically related to hiring relations. Let us begin with the fact that under socialism wages are no longer a converted form of the price and value of the manpower. Their role is to be a measure of the contribution which the individual makes to the common effort and his consumption share. As a result of such a radical change in the true role and the reinterpretation of the political and economic content of wages, it is only under socialism that the latter acquire their true meaning as payment for work done, as reward for labor. Under socialism, the basic principle of which is "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work," wage relations are a suitable (both age-old and discovered) instrument for exercising the right to work and distribution according to the quantity and quality of labor.

Marx persistently emphasized that during the first phase of communism every working person "will receive back from society, after all withholdings,

exactly what he contributes to it" (see vol 19, p 18). Hence the tremendous role in the policy of wages, rate systems, improvements in commodity-monetary relations and the distribution of resources, labor above all, among the various sectors of the single national economic complex, which, precisely, is a planned optimized system of intersectorial and, consequently, territorial relations.

Naturally, no measures aimed at perfecting the entire system of distribution relations will enable society to make a shortcut from the stage of the only possible payment according to labor today to earnings based on need. "Any efforts arbitrarily to exceed this possible level and to anticipate communist methods of distribution," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov wrote, "ignoring the precise consideration of the labor contribution of the individual to the creation of material and spiritual goods could and do trigger undesirable phenomena." At the same time, the timely improvement of distribution relations provides society with an effective tool for eliminating distortions in the wages paid various labor categories.

The socialist distribution by itself does not provide a key to a conversion to the communist forms of rewarding the working people according to their needs. Nor could such a key be found in simply improving production efficiency through its intensification and higher labor productivity. It lies above all in the realm of training cadres and molding the new person, who is the bearer of the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and the gains of the socialist revolution. The question of shaping such a new mass type worker is already quite urgent. It could be formulated as follows: "Can the overall worker in developed socialism allow himself the luxury of reproducing his replacement below the level of the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and the building of communism?"

What makes this formulation of the question even more fruitful is that, as it directs us to a planned system of steps in shaping the individual and offering everyone access to scientific knowledge, labor skills and a collectivistic perception of the world, society helps us not only to discover a maximum of talents and capabilities but lays a reliable common foundation for the rationalization of requirements and needs, sensible aspirations and a high civic awareness of true equality and freedom. This is also the purpose of the line followed by the communist party as developed in the resolutions of its 26th Congress and Central Committee plenums and Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's addresses.

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov pointed out at the June 1983 Central Committee Plenum that "I would like to emphasize the following: The party sees to it that in our country a person is raised not simply as the carrier of a certain amount of knowledge but, above all, as a citizen of the socialist society, as an active builder of communism with its specific ideological concepts, morality, interests and high labor and behavioral standards." It is precisely such comprehensively developed people who will create the new and reject obsolete forms of social relations in the transition from socialist to a communist civilization of labor and way of life.

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'...ABILITY TO INSPIRE THE ENERGY, HEROISM AND ENTHUSIASM OF THE MASSES...'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 83 (signed to press 22 Nov 83) pp 43-53

[Article by M. Gabdulin, editor in chief of the journal AGITATOR]

[Text] Our country has entered the 67th year of the Soviet system. The more time passes, the wider becomes the scale of the tasks of building communism and the clearer becomes the need to approach their solution with an entire set of material, organizational and spiritual factors governing the development of society. It is precisely in this connection that the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum earmarked ways leading to the further advancement of ideological work as a whole and of each of its constituent components.

"We clearly see," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov noted at the plenum, "the serious damage caused by faults in this work, the insufficient maturity of the people, if such is the case. Conversely, already today we can clearly feel the increased pace of progress, in the course of which ideological work becomes more efficient and the masses gain a better understanding of party policy which they adopt as their own and as consistent with the profound interests of the people."

The work of the party organization at the Automotive Plant imeni Likhachev in Moscow serves as an example of a deeply interested and efficient attitude toward problems of production development and advancement. A profound economic analysis of reserves was made here on the initiative of the party members. It indicated the possibility of obtaining savings in excess of 320 million rubles during the five-year plan. Corresponding specific socialist obligations were assumed and organizational and technical measures were drafted. More than 6,000 agitators, political analysts, propagandists, lecturers and speakers explained them comprehensively. From the very beginning the project took a proper course and savings became the concern of one and all.

The party organization assumed steady control through nine commissions headed by party committee members. Some 30 additional party groups were organized in the brigades and people's controllers and Komsomol Beacon activists were drafted. With their active help the entire work related to competitive reviews for discovering new economy reserves and their utilization gained a second breath. Within a single year more than 500 valuable suggestions were made, the implementation of which yielded major results. Every year since the beginning of the five-year plan the enterprise works with saved energy

resources during the Leninist communist subbotnik. As a result, the annual outlays of rolled ferrous metal are assessed at 120,000 tons below the norm.

The ZIL personnel learned how to support militant agitation work with action, as V. I. Lenin bequeathed to us. He considered that the main thing for the party was to establish increasingly closer "unbreakable ties with the mass of the workers, the ability constantly to agitate within it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 162), considering comprehensive political agitation a focal point within which the vital interests of the political upbringing of the working people and all social development coincide. Vladimir Il'ich highly valued "the direct appeal of our party and the Soviet system to the toiling masses, indicating all difficulties and tasks; the ability to explain to the masses why all efforts had to be concentrated on one aspect of Soviet work or another at any specific moment; and the ability to enhance the energy, heroism and enthusiasm of the masses, concentrating revolutionary stressed efforts on the most important task" (ibid., p 305).

#### Agitation Is An Effective Tool in Political Management

No duty is more honorable to the party members than to take to the masses the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to bring to light the unbreakable tie linking party policy to the vital interests of the people and to enhance even higher the social activeness of the working people. Pointing this out, the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum relied on the tremendous experience acquired by the party. We have everything necessary to improve this work. This includes the real gains of socialism, which are of universal significance, our great revolutionary doctrine, the Leninist traditions and principles, the existing communist upbringing system, the powerful information-propaganda apparatus and the availability of skilled ideological cadres loyal to the party cause.

In his plenum address Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized the need to utilize all available possibilities in order to rise to the level of the major and difficult problems resolved by the party in the course of perfecting developed socialism and all ideological education work. A more effective and creative approach to the matter was needed, consistent with the higher educational and political standards and requirements of the Soviet people.

The country is implementing very large and difficult sociopolitical programs, including food and energy. The party promotes production intensification, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and fundamental improvements in labor productivity on this basis. A persistent struggle has been developed for the fullest possible utilization of our natural resources and tremendous possibilities of the economy, science and culture. The implementation of such plans largely depends on the way the party organizations will be able to take CPSU policy to the broad masses, to harness the spiritual energy of the people for its implementation and to enhance the labor and social activeness of the Soviet people. In this case political agitation is an instrument for political leadership and an important means for strengthening the ties between the party and the masses.

The processes in the international arena play an important role among the factors which intensify this party role. Because of imperialism they have become exceptionally tense and difficult. Today a sharp aggravation, unparalleled throughout the entire postwar period, in the struggle between the two social systems and two totally opposite outlooks is taking place in the world. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On the International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union" includes unanimously approved steps to maintain on the necessary level the defense capability of the Soviet Union and to ensure the safety of its allies. Under these circumstances the class tempering of the working people and the uncompromising struggle against bourgeois propaganda become particularly important.

Political agitation performs essential functions in explaining the party's policy, convincing the masses of its accuracy and motivating the social activeness of the people. The words of the agitator have always been part of highly meaningful concepts such as Leninism, revolution, soviets and socialism. In real life, in the crucible of revolutionary changes and the building of socialism and in the heroic struggle for freedom of the homeland, party agitation has invariably brought with it Leninist ideas, influenced the mind, feelings and will of the working people and called and led them forward. Today as well political agitation is a tried and true means of educating the masses. As it actively influences all sociopolitical life and the moral and psychological atmosphere in labor collectives, it spreads its daily influence over tens of millions of people and mobilizes their efforts along the main lines of party policy.

Appealing to the working people and steadily relying on their collective intelligence provides the party with effective support in the struggle for reaching its targets. The appeal of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which called for the more efficient utilization of the advantages and possibilities of socialism, energetically eliminating negative phenomena, improving the organization of the work and strengthening discipline, met with a truly nationwide response. The working class and all Soviet people warmly support the practical steps taken by the party and the government to assert a conscious and creative attitude to the work on the part of everyone and to develop the political activeness of the working people. The systematic implementation of the party's socioeconomic policy and specific assignments, formulated in the resolutions of the November 1982 and June 1983 plenums and the CPSU Central Committee decrees, are today the pivot of all mass agitation work.

In this area the party organizations try to make the best possible use of acquired positive experience. In Georgia, for example, over the past 10 years industrial production doubled. The volume of agricultural output increased significantly and other successes were achieved as well. The party members fully relate these changes to improvements in the moral-psychological climate in the labor collectives and in all realms of sociopolitical, economic and spiritual life in the republic, the strengthened discipline and order and the enhanced level of organization of the people. In improving political work among the masses, based on the Leninist principles of party-mindedness, they saw to it that the working people are extensively informed about all the

implemented measures and gained public opinion support. They channeled the energy of the working people into the implementation of assignments. Bringing ideological work closer to their needs and interests plays an efficient role in improving economic management, developing political consciousness and enhancing the labor activeness of the people. The Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee Center for the Study, Forecasting and Molding of Public Opinion and work methods such as single policy days, sociopolitical readings, discussion clubs, conferences-dialogues and citizens' letters, are used in identifying acute problems.

Lenin considered the main task of the communist party "to lead the entire people to socialism, to direct and organize the new system, to be the teacher, guide and leader of all working people...in structuring their social life..." (op. cit., vol 33, p 26). The life of the Soviet person and what affects him cannot be ignored by the party organizations but is the subject of their steady concern. In engaging in comprehensive propaganda and agitation, explaining the theoretical concepts and conclusions related to the socioeconomic development of society, international events and political education, and persuading the working people and mobilizing their efforts and will for the successful implementation of CPSU domestic and foreign policy, the party organizations are implementing one of their main tasks.

Political agitation based on personal contacts with the people makes it possible to describe successes in building communism and reasons for existing difficulties and ways to eliminate them, with the help of specific, vivid, related and clear facts and examples. By explaining the decisions of party and state organs, it tangibly influences improvements in the production and social activeness of the working people and the development of socialist competition. That explains the great importance of studying the moods of the masses and reacting to them promptly, engaging in frank discussions with the people and shaping their modern economic thinking and active life stance.

Today this work is being done by more than 6 million political agitation activists--agitators, political analyzers and speakers. Party and nonparty members, competition front-rankers, innovators, foremen, brigade leaders, specialists, teachers and physicians are the most authoritative and honest working people. They are distinguished by the high practical and moral examples they set and the ability to communicate with the people, to take their feelings into consideration and to persuade them. Prompt approval, necessary advice, help and support of a person and, if necessary, the critical evaluation of improper actions are all activities without which it would be difficult to lead the masses to accomplishments worthy of the builders of the new society.

As we know, Lenin ascribed particular importance to the theoretical foundations of propaganda and agitation, pointing out that "without a clear and planned ideological content agitation degenerates into phrase-mongering" (op. cit., vol 47, p 74). The materials of the June Plenum enriched all forms of spiritual and ideological life of Soviet society and strengthened the scientific and theoretical foundations of political education. The prime task today of the agitation aktiv is to help everyone to define his place and role

in the successful implementation of the tasks formulated by the party and to act consciously and with initiative.

"Mass political work," the Central Committee plenum decree stipulates, "must strengthen the unity between party and people, enhance the communist convictions and political activeness of the working people and develop their creative energy." The Rostov Oblast Party Organization has a number of agitators whose reputation is based precisely on this type of attitude toward social duty. They include Valentin Mikhaylovich Storonenko, tuner at the Rostsel'mash Plant, Praskov'ya Filippovna Lavrukhina, head of the dairy farm at the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, noted combine operator Nina Vasil'yevna Pereverzeva and Valentin Vasil'yevich Pakholya, fitter at the Krasnyy Gidropress Plant in Taganrog. Their party convictions and individual example at work and at home, and their ability to work with people ensure the high effectiveness of their talks.

"No single lagging person in a collective where an agitator works" was an initiative born in the oblast and taken up by a number of party organizations in the country. It was started at the Rostsel'mash Plant and within a short time spread throughout all labor collectives along the Don. The oblast agitators actively joined in resolving the problem of working without laggards in all technical and economic indicators and national economic sectors. The appeal of those who started this initiative was discussed in all agitation collectives. A number of valuable suggestions and critical remarks were made in the course of the discussions. The support and attention of the party organization gave this initiative a long life. Currently two out of three agitators have already seen to it that there are no laggards in their link, brigade or sector. For example, the agitation collectives in Zavetinskiy and Azovskiy rayons were able to mobilize the rural working people who, despite the difficult weather conditions of recent years, fulfilled stepped-up socialist pledges. Aware of the fact that work without laggards calls for constant searches for and utilization of available reserves, the agitators are focusing their maximal efforts along this line.

The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum indicated the need to base ideological education work on the firm foundation of the party's socioeconomic policy, the realities of life today and the prospects for further progress. The purpose of agitation is to take into consideration not only successes but difficulties and shortcomings, for all of this affects the upbringing of the people. In addressing the party veterans, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov noted that "we justifiably speak of ideological support for economic work. However, economic or, in a broader sense, social support of ideological work is even more important. This is because all kinds of confusions, negligence, violations of the law, money-grubbing and bribery depreciate the work of thousands of agitators and propagandists."

The strength of agitation influence is reduced if the activists avoid topical subjects and pointed questions, fail to provide a principle-minded assessment of shortcomings or to explain their reasons. "Convincing and specific depiction of our accomplishments, serious analysis of the new problems steadily triggered by life and freshness of ideas and words," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov said, "are the path to perfecting our entire propaganda which must always be truthful, realistic, interesting, inventive and, therefore, more efficient."

Whatever the topic the agitator may be discussing, the communist ideals must be specifically refracted through the practical experience and daily concerns of the audience. A sober assessment, feeling of measure and proper tone in agitation help the people to interpret their actions on the basis of the social interests and consciously to participate in resolving the problems facing the country and the labor collective.

#### Unity of Words and Actions

Concentrating on action is one of the main party requirements which determine the content, style and methods of party-political and organizational work among the masses. The word of the agitator is strong with the thought directed toward improving the common projects and the aspiration mandatorily to succeed and to make the greatest possible contribution to this success. That is what Lenin taught. To link the masses with building a common economic life, he emphasized, should be the first and the basic feature of the work of any agitator and propagandist. Once he has mastered this his success will be secured (see op. cit., vol 41, p 408).

In the course of their practical work the agitation collectives try to ensure the timely and skilled interpretation of events and to answer the questions asked by the working people, as well as truly to interest them and trigger their creative energy, which they direct toward upgrading production effectiveness and work quality. The party word and the work and moral examples set by the agitation activists influence their fellow workers and develop in them a communist attitude toward labor and public ownership and a feeling of responsibility for assignments.

A great deal depends on the primary party units which, as Lenin pointed out, "carry out their agitation, propaganda, and organizational work decisively in all areas of social life, with all the varieties and subdivisions of the toiling masses and who must systematically develop in themselves, in the party, the class and the masses the same type of comprehensive work" (ibid., p 191). Today the party organizations and their agitation collectives can influence the solution of an exceptionally wide range of problems. This includes the struggle for order at work, strengthening the discipline, also with the help of the development of collective methods of labor organization and wages, radically improving labor productivity and ensuring its faster growth compared to wages. In a word, as the most conscientious participants in social life, the agitators and political analysts are called upon to help develop in the people a collectivistic awareness and behavior. The recently passed Law on Labor Collectives and the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree on intensifying work on strengthening socialist labor discipline enable us to do such work more specifically, to influence the minds and feelings of the people with the help of new convincing arguments and to shape in them the need for active creative efforts.

Agitator-tutor Yegor Ivanovich Drozdetskiy has been heading a coal-mining brigade at the face shaft of the Nagornaya Mine of the Gidrougol' Production Association for a quarter of a century. He was one of those who began to apply comprehensive mechanization at the Kuzbass mines and among the first to

reach the thousand-ton level of daily productivity in the face shaft. For weeks and months on end the miners worked under most difficult conditions. Not once, however, did they fail in their obligations. Keeping their word, high moral qualities, ability to rely on collective experience and joint efforts to find solutions to difficult situations have always distinguished Drozdetskiy's brigade. The leader of the mine's collective himself, who has come a long way, from simple worker to twice Hero of Socialist Labor and a master famous throughout the country, sets the example of total dedication in his daily job and public work.

"Work and work only enhances our people," Yegor Ivanovich says. "The working class numbers many order-bearers, Heroes of Socialist Labor and deputies! All paths are open to the working person in our country. Learn, broaden your outlook, increase your knowledge and earn a diploma. A great deal is being done in the country to protect the workers' health! The only response that is asked is conscientious work for the good of the homeland, good and honest work so that all of us may live better."

The agitators take to the people this simple yet great truth on a daily basis. Conscientious and initiative-minded work is the base of the socialist way of life and the highest measure of the dignity and prestige of the individual. It is entirely clear that the social recognition and material well-being of the people in our country must be based above all on the way they work. The economic side is not the only important one here. By creating material values man hammers out his best moral qualities, tempers his will, develops his creative capabilities and asserts himself as a citizen and active builder of communism.

Unity between words and actions is a decisive prerequisite for the high efficiency with which agitation can influence the consciousness and feelings of the person. In relying on models and examples of conscientious attitude toward labor, the agitators help to strengthen the moral incentives for doing good work. However, other cases exist as well, which must be condemned. "The people have happy moments," A. Masyuk, head of a complex brigade at the Molodaya Gvardiya Kolkhoz, Brest Oblast. "The heart is glad when the winter crops show up and we enjoy the heavy grain-filled blades. However, life does not consist of joys alone. Before a new house has even been completed, its windows have been broken. Lumps of coal are spread along the railroad. And how could a farmer be happy during harvest time when the road from the field to the threshing floor is covered with grain which even the sated birds no longer pick at? Skill in plowing and sowing can be taught. The ability to preserve the fruit of one's toil and to care for everything produced is the result of education. It is precisely this type of education that we, the agitators, must promote."

"One should not mark time," writes S. Zubko, agitator at the Bogatyr' Mine, Ekibastuz Coal Basin. "One should seek how to work better. The first thing that is necessary here is to strengthen discipline. In my view, this is not reduced merely to the struggle against absenteeists and waste makers. Disciplined are those who are firmly aware of their duty, who do everything possible to carry out their assignments. A collective of like-minded people,

united by a single objective, can accomplish a great deal." These are the thoughts of an activist well aware of the fact that this year the mine should provide the country's national economy with 52 million tons of fuel.

In their talks agitators and political analysts translate concepts such as economic intensification and acceleration of scientific and technical progress into the language of specific daily affairs. They instill in the minds of their fellow workers the need to make maximal use of the economic potential and adopt a truly creative attitude toward the work. They skillfully popularize support through words and actions the economic and organizational steps which encourage qualitative and productive toil which, at the same time, directly relate to material rewards and the moral rating of those who work poorly or display indifference and irresponsibility.

Mass political work is effective only when it is supported by planned measures--administrative-managerial, economic and legal; the creation of normal working, living and recreation conditions; and upgrading the role and responsibility of the collective and its managers for the fulfillment of one's duty to the homeland. The experience of the leading labor collectives, such as the ZIL, the Minsk Tractor Plant, Uralmash and others confirms the accuracy of such a formulation of the matter.

The June Plenum emphasized the need to assert more energetically the Soviet way of life and propagandize our social, spiritual and moral principles. Agitation activists face the main task of seeing to it that the revolutionary and collectivistic ideology and morality of the working class and its interests have a decisive impact on the spiritual features of all Soviet people. Here again the main trump card of the agitator and political analyst is the facts of real life. Guided by Lenin's advice to avoid political chattering, they must develop the ability "without verbiage and exclamations, but with facts and figures in hand to interpret the questions of socialism..." (op. cit., vol 14, p 92). Through the entire logic of his speeches, facts and examples, the agitator must develop in the audience the need to compare, sum up and draw accurate conclusions on the historical advantages of socialism and skillfully to contrast them with the situation under capitalism.

The militancy and aggressiveness of agitation are manifested today above all in the fact that it brings to the people the truth about the Leninist peaceful foreign policy of the CPSU and Soviet government and their peaceful initiatives aimed at restraining the arms race and improving international relations, a policy which helps to expose the antipeople's nature of imperialism and to fight bourgeois and revisionist ideology. The agitators must expose even more consistently the merciless exploitation and calamitous situation of millions of unemployed, inflation, discrimination against young people and women, racial rightlessness, profession bans, an increasing crime rate, lack of public and private safety, spiritual crisis, poverty, immorality and the profound disillusionment and pessimism of the people in bourgeois society.

Like all ideological activities, the efficiency of verbal agitation is closely related to the ability to work on a differentiated basis in accordance

with the interests of the various population groups. Lenin ascribed particular importance to this, particularly in terms of the ideological-moral, labor and class training of young people. In working with young people greater attention should be paid to tutoring. The practical experience, professional skills and moral example set by veterans and honored production workers make it possible to influence the young worker specifically and actively, to keep him within the collective and to prevent cases of manifestation among the young of retarded civic growth, political naivete and dependence.

Many party organizations thoroughly support the Komsomol committees in sponsoring youth hikes to sites of revolutionary events, involving the participation of veterans, annual weeks of revolutionary glory, all-union memorial watches and the organization of military sports, games and competitions. All of this helps to develop in the young people the lofty feelings of spiritual duty, zealous patriotism and readiness to defend the gains of socialism.

#### Improving the Organization of Mass Political Work

As we know, the effectiveness of ideological influence is determined not only by the content but the form, the art of conducting agitation and propaganda. The secret of a successful work lies in its unity, when all ideological education work is conducted in a lively and interesting manner, without stereotyped statements or ready-made formulas, as has been particularly emphasized in the special CPSU Central Committee decrees on improving verbal and visual agitation.

In implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work," the party organizations try to perfect its means and methods and to promote the active participation of leading party, soviet and economic cadres in the ideological-political upbringing of the working people. Extensive practice is made of single policy days, question and answer evenings, trips by information and propaganda groups, round-table meetings and oral journals. The groups of speakers and political analysts have been strengthened by the addition of competent specialists and leading cadres. The work of agitation brigades and ideological teams within comprehensive mechanized detachments in agriculture is improving.

In town and country all ideological work is now related to planning the socioeconomic development of labor collectives. In the future, this will enable us to apply more fully the comprehensive approach to the ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of the working people. For a number of years the LOMO, Svetlana, Metallicheskiy Zavod and Elektrosila associations and other enterprises in Leningrad have engaged in long-term planning of steps to intensify the communist upbringing of the working people jointly with social support measures. This practice has made it possible to stimulate dynamically the greater results, particularly in training the young workers and in ensuring their general and professional growth. This is reflected also in the level of political awareness and labor activeness of collectives and enhanced production discipline and organization. Under such circumstances agitators and political analysts act with greater confidence, supporting

their talks with specific examples of continuing concern for enterprise workers and their families.

However, shortcomings in mass political work, in which the interests of the audience are ignored or when such work is unrelated to life, as well as manifestations of formalism, which lead to the fact that not the quality but quantity of activities are in the center of attention, most urgently raise the question of improving the party's management of this important sector in ideological activities. This applies above all to the relevance of addresses, of the topical nature of their content and the close tie between agitation and basic problems related to the advancement of developed socialism. No less important is the solution of problems such as the study of the audience, the choice and utilization of activists, improving the organization of the work, starting with planning, accountability and study of the results of agitation activities and ensuring close ties between agitation and other means of ideological influence.

The Leninist style of party political work presumes the efficient coordination of activities among all ideological organizations and media and the aspiration of cadres always to be among the masses and promptly to react to the growing spiritual requirements of the working people. This is helped by the summation and dissemination of the best experience in the upbringing of the people. Practical science conferences held by the CPSU Central Committee led to the formulation of effective recommendations which allow its extensive availability. However, so far such experience is being poorly disseminated. A system must be drafted which would ensure a consideration of anything that is new and useful and its application in the practical work of the party organizations.

Unquestionably, the propaganda of the application of collective forms of labor organization and incentive contributes to resolving major national economic problems. Brigades and other subunits working on the basis of a single order encourage the development of collectivistic mentality and morality and a thrifty attitude toward socialist property. They discipline the people through public opinion. The advantage of agitation lies above all in the fact that it can be maximally specific, based on the conditions governing the work, life, and interests of the collective and the individual. This enables it to become more organically interwoven with the life of labor collectives and actively to influence them in terms of exercising their extensive rights in the economic, political, social and educational areas.

However, in order to fulfill this role, agitation within each collective must be systematic, consistent, continuing and differentiated. The combination of the idea-mindedness of the party's word with clarity and intelligibility makes it possible for agitation work to combine agitational, organizing and upbringing functions, without which the process of conversion of ideas and knowledge into profound convictions which encourage the person to engage in active socially useful efforts becomes impossible. Agitators and political analysts must be promptly supplied with information, figures and facts related to the life of the labor collective. In frequent cases, as a result of the talks people become aware essentially of what is taking place in distant

countries rather than with the situation in the next-door shop, the forming and utilization of the various enterprise funds, the type of decisions made by the party organization, the work of the trade union committee, the procedure for the allocation of housing, or the reason for which the plant is failing to fulfill its plan or letting down related enterprises. One of the essential means in improving mass political work is turning verbal political agitation toward all aspects of activities of the labor collective and the state of affairs in the rayon or the city. In this case it is important to coordinate the activities of all propaganda units.

Agitation collectives are the most widespread among them. The agitators, who are in constant touch with their fellow workers, are well acquainted with their lives, interests, nature and customs, for which reason they can promptly react to feelings, efficiently explain arising problems, help with their advice and disperse doubts. The agitators who study requests and gather suggestions and critical remarks, bring them to the knowledge of the party organization and seek an active response. The creation of groups of political analysts enable the party organizations to involve in agitation the most skilled forces and to ensure the systematic information of the working people on a broad range of problems related to the political, economic and cultural life in the country and the international situation. Such groups efficiently inform the masses of the decisions of the party and the government, closely linking political upbringing with the practice of building communism. Today political talks and business reports to the working people by leading workers, working as groups of speakers under the party committees, are considered increasingly important. Such addresses help to inform the people and to acquire feedback. The USSR Law on Labor Collectives considers them mandatory for managers. Obviously, it is a question above all of developing an attentive attitude toward the petitions and proposals of the working people, which makes such activities maximally efficient.

The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum indicated the need for comprehensive improvements in work at places of residence. The ability tactfully to influence the life of a person outside the labor collective and the way he spends his leisure time and organizes his rest is, naturally, difficult to achieve. The party organizations and their agitation collectives try to conduct their mass political work above all among population strata unrelated to labor collectives and in hostels. The development of social charts for microrayons in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities, which take more fully into consideration population requirements, the coordination of public councils through the efforts of deputy groups, cultural institutions and militia organs and improving the material facilities for cultural and educational work and agitation premises influence the people and their way of life and behavior in a systematic and efficient manner.

The variety of mass agitation work is increasing. We must see to it that citizens' meetings, gatherings and rallies, labor holidays, celebrations of competition winners, dedications of young people as workers and kolkhoz members and meetings with party, war and labor veterans are meaningful and emotional. Nevertheless, many such measures are taken formally, purely as part of the protocol!

The June Plenum noted that a considerable part of visual agitation remains ineffective. This is due above all to the many general appeals, vagueness and bare informativeness it contains.

One of the important tasks today is to strengthen the agitation collectives and groups of political analysts and speakers, and to improve the selection, training, information and instruction of mass agitation activists. Practical experience proves that the most efficient system is that of courses offered by Marxist-Leninist party education units, supplemented by curriculums on agitation methods, combined with independent studies. The political education houses and the party committees on all levels have set up public councils on mass agitation methods and are organizing the training of assistants of the party apparatus, in charge of verbal agitation, and as heads of agitation collectives and other kinds of organizers of mass political work. They operate reference-information centers and verbal agitation method offices (councils, sections). However, they require steady support and assistance. A well-planned and efficient counterpropaganda system is needed more than ever before. The party committees must be clearly aware of the means and channels through which the ideological enemy is trying to reach us and organize his rebuff promptly. This, however, is possible only if the agitation activists are promptly equipped with facts and arguments. As confirmed by the experience of the party organizations in Moscow, Belorussia, Estonia and elsewhere, the efficient guidance of cadres becomes easier if they become specialized.

Ideological work is the concern of the entire party and every individual party member. The CPSU Central Committee journal AGITATOR, similar publications by the central committees of communist parties of union republics, and the oblast and kray "Agitator Notebooks" are called upon to help and advise activists engaged in mass political work. This year the journal AGITATOR celebrated its 60th anniversary. One of its first issues pointed out that "a great deal of work remains to be done to learn how, within the limits of a small journal, in short articles and notes, to provide clusters of data needed by agitators and the party aktiv." This statement is still relevant today.

Through its articles AGITATOR helps to explain to the masses the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The journal tries to help in the communist upbringing of the working people and to mobilize their energy and initiative in the implementation of economic and cultural construction tasks and the successful fulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The readership of AGITATOR has increased considerably over the past 60 years. Whereas initially the journal was published in no more than 7,000 copies, today each issue comes out in 1,440,000 copies. The nature of the materials carried has changed as well. They take into consideration the increased requirements of the readers, who are now educated, politically knowledgeable and on the ideological and political level of the agitators, political analysts and speakers themselves.

The journal gives prominence to articles and method advice on problems of party economic strategy, thrifty management, production intensification,

problems of CPSU social policy, the country's cultural life and communist morality. The permanent journal section on "Two Worlds--Two Ways of Life" contains articles exposing the enemies of peace and social progress and describing the antipeople's nature of imperialism and its policy and ideology. The success of agitation largely depends on the skill of those who conduct it among the labor collectives and at places of residence. That is why issue after issue the journal describes the best experience in organizing mass agitation work, provides method advice and recommendations and teaches how to make verbal addresses effective.

In speaking of the importance of political agitation in upgrading the revolutionary activeness of the masses, Lenin said that "the word is also the action" (op. cit., vol 11, p 59) and that "such action cannot be replaced by any other today or at any other time" (op. cit., vol 6, p 78). The implementation of the long-term program for ideological and mass political work under contemporary conditions, drafted by the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, means to intensify the militancy of every party organization and agitator and to see to it that the ideas of the party imbue the daily actions of the Soviet working people, intensifying their energy in the struggle for the ideals of communism.

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IDEOLOGICAL WORK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT MEANS OF STRENGTHENING TIES BETWEEN  
THE PARTY AND THE MASSES

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[Article by T. Usubaliyev, Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee  
first secretary]

[Text] The unity between the party and the people is an inexhaustible source of strength for Soviet society. As Comrade Yu. V. Andropov pointed out at the Extraordinary November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, in our country there is a force which enables us to resolve even the most difficult problems. It is the unity of our party ranks, the party's collective wisdom and leadership and the unity between party and people.

The profound, organic and steadily strengthening tie with the masses is one of the basic principles of CPSU activities. "In order to serve the mass and to express its accurately realized interests," Lenin wrote, "the progressive detachment, the organization must conduct all of its activities within the mass, drawing from it the best possible forces without exception, and checking at every step, thoroughly and objectively whether the ties with the masses are kept and if they are alive. Thus and thus only can the progressive detachment educate and instruct the masses, express its interests, teach it organization and direct all of its activities along the way of a conscious class policy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 24, p 37).

The party maintains a variety of ties with the people. Ideological and mass political work aimed at ensuring the unity between the vanguard and the entire class and all working people is of great importance. Today, at the stage of developed socialism, Lenin's stipulation of the need to combine revolutionary doctrine with the practice of the revolutionary reorganization of society remains vitally important. The systematic and comprehensive advancement of developed socialism demand an increasing level of organization and unity by the Soviet people around the CPSU, resting on the firm foundations of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Central Committee teaches us that without fruitful organizational and political work by the party organizations in shaping the ideological beliefs of the masses we cannot hope for any long-term and major success in resolving socioeconomic problems and developing a communist upbringing. The building of the new world demands harmoniously developed and comprehensively trained people. This concept is particularly relevant today. The further along our

country advances on the path of building communism, the more important ensuring the quality and efficiency of party ideological work among the masses becomes in terms of its success.

Guided by the resolutions of the November 1982 and June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the stipulations and conclusions contained in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speeches, the Kirghiz party organizations are shifting the center of their entire ideological and educational work to achieving high labor activeness and sociopolitical consciousness of the masses and to strengthening labor discipline and order in all sectors of production and social life, without which the successful implementation of the increasing tasks of economic, social and spiritual development becomes inconceivable.

The republic's party organizations see to it that all directions and ways and means of ideological and mass political work yield as many practical results as possible. Particular attention is paid to the party education system, the invariable task of which is to develop in every party member and Soviet person a Marxist-Leninist outlook and communist convictions. The training offered in the labor collectives helps the students to understand the lofty objectives of domestic and foreign CPSU policy and contribute to the further strengthening of the unity of thoughts, actions and accomplishments of the party and the people. The mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory also helps to enhance the labor and social activeness of the working people and the growth of the socialist awareness of the masses and their political standards.

It is important for the students attending such classes not only to study the material in the curriculums but also, as a rule, to relate it to the practical tasks of their collectives. Thus, M. Taranenko, propagandist and deputy chief engineer at the Frunze Drills Plant imeni 60-Letiya SSSR, organized the study of the patriotic initiative of the leading collectives in the republic's capital, who called for competition under the slogan of "All Deliveries to Fraternal Republics on Time and of Excellent Quality." The proposal of organizing a socialist competition with procurement enterprises under the same slogan was submitted at one of the classes and was approved by the plant's party committee. As a result, a procurement contract, which is being strictly implemented, was concluded with the collective of the Donetsk Metallurgical Plant imeni V. I. Lenin.

The party organizations direct the ideological activists toward promptly noting and supporting anything new and viable developed in the collectives and toward comprehensively encouraging and promoting in the people socialist enterprise and efficiency. Here is an example. The collective of the Naryngidroenergostroy Administration was issued the important assignment of installing ahead of schedule capacities at the Kurpsay Hydroelectric Power Plant. The students of an economic training course at the Gidrospeksstroy Kirghiz Specialized Administration suggested that the slanted segment of the basin be made with the help of the equipment and attachments they had developed. The party committee and the specialists made a comprehensive study of the suggestion and gave it their support. The application of the new method led to a considerable gain in time and economy of state funds with high work quality and made the ahead-of-schedule completion of the power plant possible.

The republic's party organizations ascribe great significance to important forms of direct contacts between the ideological activists and the masses, such as lecture propaganda and verbal political agitation. Today some 600 lectures are delivered in the republic every day, attended by more than 20,000 people. The system of lecture propaganda weeks are practiced in Osh Oblast. During that period, in accordance with a schedule approved by the party obkom, groups of lecturers, which include skilled specialists in various fields of knowledge, are sent to the animal husbandrymen in remote grazing grounds. As a result of such meetings they report to the party obkom on the interests of the people, the nature of questions asked and proposals submitted.

In our republic, where livestock breeding predominates in agricultural production, the most widespread profession is that of shepherd. Shepherds work in the harsh high-mountain conditions, away from settlements, and frequently move from one pasture to another. Agitation trains are assigned a special role by the republic, oblast and rayon party committees in working with this category of working people. Such trains include lecturers from party committees and Knowledge Society physicians, trade and consumer service workers with specially equipped motor vehicles, mobile motion picture facilities and professional and amateur actors. Such a "passenger" membership of the agitation train makes the comprehensive solution of a number of problems related to the ideological education and cultural services to livestock breeders possible. For example, some 200 trips were made by agitation trains, covering all major interrayon, rayon and interfarm pastures to disseminate the materials of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum. A total of 1,850 lectures and reports were delivered to more than 100,000 livestock breeders; dozens of motion pictures were shown and books and various goods worth almost 1 million rubles were sold. Physicians examined more than 50,000 people while consumer service workers provided services to 12,000 shepherds.

Agitators' houses, which were initially set up in the Priissykkulyye area, are becoming increasingly popular. Their purpose is to take mass agitation work closer to residential areas. Together with the executive committee of the local soviet of people's deputies, the party organization locates a suitable house in the district or microsector. Its owner, who is as a rule a respected teacher, or party, war or labor veteran, is made agitator. He gives talks, answers the people's questions and informs them about party organizations and soviet organs. Occasional objections are heard to the effect that no such houses are needed if the district has schools and cultural and education establishments where mass agitation work among the population at home can be successfully carried out. To begin with, however, the agitators' homes do not replace but supplement the work; secondly, the atmosphere in such homes is always more informal, for they attract people who know each other well.

The mood of the masses is shaped not only under the influence of our accomplishments. It is also influenced by shortcomings and difficulties which still exist in our life. Hence, as Lenin said, the task of "soberly observing the true situation of conscientiousness and preparedness of the entire class (rather than its communist vanguard) of precisely the entire toiling mass (and not only its front-rankers)" (op. cit., vol 41, p 41).

Occasionally, the successful work of our lecturers and propagandists is hindered by the insufficient level of their training and information. That is why the republic's communist party Central Committee demands of the propaganda apparatus profound knowledge of matters of interest to the people.

The arsenal of ideological activities of the Kirghiz party organizations also includes ways and means of effectively influencing the awareness of the working people, such as managers addressing labor collectives with political and information reports. As we know, Lenin ascribed exceptional importance to the participation of leading cadres in propaganda and mass agitation. "The personal influence and a speech at a meeting," he wrote, "is tremendously important in politics. Without them no political activity is possible..." (op. cit., vol 47, p 54). The practice developed in the republic of regular meetings between heads of party and soviet organs, ministries and departments and working people has proved to be an important channel in strengthening ties with the masses.

At first, no system existed in this work. After a comprehensive study of the matter, the Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee passed a special decree. It was resolved to set up under the party committees groups of political reporters consisting of senior personnel. They were assigned to present political reports to the labor collectives on the second Friday of every month. Such single-policy days, regularly practiced for more than 15 years now, are described as Leninist Fridays. Today they have become a firm part of our life. They have acquired a systematic nature and won great popularity.

One of the characteristics of such Leninist Fridays is their topic which is the same throughout the republic. The topic is issued by the Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee in accordance with the prime socioeconomic and political tasks and most important sociopolitical events. The Central Committee and the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms demand of the political reporters that they include in their speeches answers to questions of interest to the people and take more fully into consideration the characteristics of the production and social life of the specific collectives. On the eve of the policy days reporters usually visit the collectives, talk to the working people and study their working and living conditions.

The interest of the working people in the political talks given by managers is growing steadily. Since the 26th CPSU Congress 33 single policy days have taken place in the republic with the participation of nearly 6 million people. All labor collectives participated in the single-policy day on the results of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The growing sociopolitical activeness of the working people is confirmed by their numerous questions, suggestions and remarks. Some questions are answered immediately, while others are studied by party committees and submitted to superior party, soviet and economic organs. The Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee systematically sums up the questions and suggestions which the speakers receive during the Leninist Fridays and takes corresponding steps which are reported to the working people on the next policy day. Such suggestions have included the request of animal husbandrymen in the high-mountain Susamyr Valley to increase the production of reliable hay-mowing equipment, with special

modifications for high altitude work. Practical experience also indicates, however, that many questions and suggestions voiced by the working people during the single-policy days could be resolved efficiently on the spot, without the intervention of superior organs. This, however, is still not the case everywhere.

The experience gained by the republic also proves that single-policy days increase the efficiency of ideological work and have a positive impact on increased responsibility and discipline and improvements in the climate of collectives which, in turn, positively affects labor results and the implementation of plans and socialist obligations. Suffice it to say that over the past 18 months a total of 75,500 reports have been presented by managers, nearly 72,000 of them at party organization and labor collective meetings. Every month more than 2,000 managers report to the working people. Such meetings are also addressed by workers, kolkhoz members and economic specialists. In 1982 alone more than 10,000 different suggestions and critical remarks were made. This enables the party organizations and economic managers to acquire good knowledge of the views and requests of the people and to consider them in their practical work.

The reports of managers in a number of labor collectives are, as a rule, of a practical nature. They include proper criticism and specific suggestions on how to eliminate existing shortcomings. At the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Talasskiy Rayon the organization of reports is the direct concern of the board and the party committee which jointly determine the time and place for the speech of the manager as well as the topic. Hero of Socialist Labor Akmatbek Nurzhanov, the kolkhoz chairman, deems it his duty to address every month the kolkhoz aktiv and brigade and livestock farm collectives. In the course of such reports questions of the kolkhoz's economic, sociopolitical and social life are discussed, the work done during specific time periods or the conduct of the agricultural campaign are summed up, suggestions and forthcoming plans are submitted for general discussion and extensive answers are given to questions asked by the kolkhoz members. All of this helps to create in the collective a good moral climate, enhance in every working person the feeling of ownership and increase a feeling of responsibility for kolkhoz affairs.

A number of Kirghiz party committees are skillfully organizing, directing, controlling and coordinating the speeches of the managers, seeing to it that they are self-critical, organically relate ideological-educational work with political, organizational and economic work and do not forget that a breakdown in even a single link will mandatorily affect results of activities along the entire chain.

The party teaches us that managers must not only teach the masses but learn from them as well. The republic's party committees are engaged in a decisive struggle against still-encountered efforts on the part of individual managers to avoid reporting at such meetings or to present reports as a didactic monologue from a rostrum, as unchallenged authorities, instructing and directing the others from high up. Unfortunately, some reporters do not bother to prepare seriously for their speech. Their presentations are poor and formal,

for which reason an exchange of views turns into a boring retelling of general truths or proving what has already been proved, i.e., an emasculation of the purpose of the speech which must essentially be a creative, a live action. There also are leaders who do not shy away from discussing production topics instead of submitting reports. The Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee directs the party organizations and the leading cadres toward the elimination of such shortcomings, improving the practice of single-policy days and submission of information reports by managers. It considers this a major opportunity for strengthening ties with the masses and improving their level of information and activeness.

The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted that the further development and intensification of socialist democracy is a powerful and effective means of communist upbringing. It is a question of the more extensive involvement of the working people in the discussion of major problems of governmental and social life. This essential party stipulation is being increasingly applied by the republic's party committees. During the preparations for the plenum on implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work," the Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee distributed among the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the republic soviet organs, and ministries and departments a draft measure for their preliminary consideration. The document was refined and supplemented in accordance with their views, as a result of which the decree which was passed at the plenum plays an essential role in the entire activities of the republic's ideological aktiv.

Here is another example. In preparing for a plenum on the production of consumer goods, the Frunze city party committee appealed through the newspaper VECHERNIY FRUNZE to the city's entire population to express views on the agenda of the forum. Numerous suggestions were received by the party gorkom and raykoms and the city newspaper editors. Their summation made it possible to make decisions in accordance with the collective views of the working people.

This practice is entirely consistent with the CPSU Central Committee requirement of ensuring greater publicity in the work of party, state and economic organs and more actively involving the masses in production management and in resolving one problem of life and activity of labor collectives or another.

The republic is increasingly practicing the system of open party meetings, particularly on matters of the enrollment of new party members. Today more than 95 percent of such meetings are open. They are becoming a course for the education of party and nonparty members; they enhance their activeness and contribute to strengthening control over the acceptance of new members. Over the past 2.5 years more than 31,000 people have been accepted members and candidate members of the CPSU at open party meetings, and 20 percent of the speakers at such meetings have been nonparty people.

Rural rallies have become the most widespread and effective form of educational and mobilizing work in the countryside. Since the 26th CPSU Congress they have been attended by nearly 3.5 million people, more than 111,000 of

whom have spoken. Usually, the discussions covered topical and sensitive problems, which increases the interest and activeness of the villagers. The participation of leading workers in local and superior party, soviet and economic organs in such rural rallies helps to resolve many problems on the spot and relieves the people from the need to visit a variety of offices.

Rural rallies have also become an important method for organizing the masses in resolving current socioeconomic problems. In June the problem of mobilizing the working people for the creation of a firm stockpile of fodder for animal husbandry was extensively debated in the republic. Many practical suggestions were received. Thus, in Kantskiy Rayon, citizens not engaged in agricultural production resolved to procure more than 5,000 tons of rough fodder; fodder production brigades totaling 580 people were set up in Keminskiy Rayon, and 5,000 tons of hay were procured, more than 60 hectares of beets and 45 hectares of sage were weeded and almost 130 hectares in clover were watered in Panfilovskiy Rayon. The same type of initiative and mass participation were displayed in other republic rayons.

Rural rallies on "Strengthening Labor and Social Discipline Is a Matter of Our Honor" were well-organized. At these rallies the rural population, unanimously supporting the party's line of strengthening discipline and order, sharply criticized absenteeists, drunks and parasites. The irreconcilable struggle against negative phenomena, which has earned the population's widespread support, helps to surmount negligence and disorganization. It promotes in the labor collectives an atmosphere of efficiency, high political and labor activeness and intolerance of shortcomings.

The letters and oral statements by citizens play a special role in ideological-educational work and in strengthening ties with the masses. Sincere in their spirit and mature in their thoughts, they reflect the optimism of the Soviet people and intolerance of phenomena alien to our system.

Open-letter days have become an important method for bringing to light views, moods and crucial problems which affect the working people. Some 1,500 such days have been held since the 26th CPSU Congress, involving the participation of 200,000 people. Many party committees especially dealt at their meetings with the suggestions and critical remarks expressed by the working people, earmarked corresponding steps and are steadily supervising their implementation. Participation in open-letter days offers the people the possibility of answering problems of interest not only from their direct superiors but of managers of higher rank as well. Suffice it to say that in the first 10 months of 1983 the population was addressed by 360 officials from republic ministries and departments and virtually all managers on the oblast, city and rayon levels.

Open-letter days focusing on specific topics have become increasingly popular in recent years. In Frunze, for example, a lively discussion was held in a number of labor collectives on how to upgrade the level of discipline in the light of the CPSU Central Committee instructions. Having studied the letters of the working people, the Naryn party obkom suggested that the question of the work of transport organizations be discussed. The discussion was held

with the participation of the heads not only of transportation and road-operational organizations in the oblast but the republic's ministries of automotive transport and highways. Specific measures were formulated to improve the condition of road construction and the work of the automotive transportation system.

The comprehensive study of the suggestions, advice and demands of the working people is yielding positive results. Interesting experience has been gained in this respect in organizing medical services to invalids and Great Patriotic War veterans. A polyclinic was opened for them in Frunze with a capacity for 50 consultations per shift. Well-equipped wards, pharmacies and drug deliveries at home have been organized for war veterans by all rayon, oblast and republic hospitals. Every year the veterans undergo a thorough preventive examination and, if necessary, are sent for treatment elsewhere. Thanks to these steps, the number of letters received by the party committees and medical institutions has declined by one-half and currently accounts for less than 1 percent of the total.

Some time ago V. Dovzhenko, a worker at the Frunze meat cannery, addressed himself to the republic party committee. He wrote that the delayed reconstruction of the combine is having an adverse effect not only on production indicators but also on the moral and psychological climate in the collective. An investigation substantiated the report. The Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee Secretariat passed a decree aimed at correcting the shortcomings noted in the letter.

The republic party organization tries to create everywhere a type of situation in which conflicts arising in labor and social activities and within the family are equitably resolved within the collective, without the intervention of superior party and soviet organs. This is helped mainly by the ability of managers on all levels to work with the people and to combine economic activities with the political education of the masses. Wherever such matters are approached informally positive changes are felt soon afterwards. For example, a great deal is being done to take maximally into consideration the requests and interests of the working people at the Weaving Factory imeni 8 Marta in Frunze. The primary party organization tries to resolve by itself all arising problems (which are still numerous). The party members realize that any complaint submitted to a superior authority for consideration does not enhance the collective's reputation.

The letters of the working people are frequently in the shape of expressions and defense of the rights of the individual and the observance of socialist legality. This must be mentioned today because some managers do not ascribe the necessary importance to work with letters and verbal addresses by citizens. There still exist formalism and red tape, which force the people to "seek the protection" of party committees. The Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee is taking decisive steps to eliminate existing shortcomings in the activities of state and economic organs. In particular, the leadership of the ministries of internal affairs and justice and the prosecutor's office was strengthened. As a result of a recertification, some officials were dismissed from their positions.

It is encouraging that the people have begun to visit party and state establishments more frequently. This situation is particularly tangible on the rayon and city levels. In supporting this trend, the Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee sees to it that the flow of visitors who want to see managers be as great as possible. Thus, the Osh city executive committee was visited by 2,685 people and received letters from 480 others in 1982. The heads of the city executive committee receive urban residents on a daily basis and on Saturdays they tour the various districts. Urgent problems of housing and living conditions are efficiently resolved at such meetings, for which reason such complaints are not subsequently rechanneled to the party committees.

There has been a considerable increase in the number of visits by working people of heads of party, soviet, and trade union organs and republic ministries and departments. In 1982 alone they saw more than 45,000 citizens on personal matters. The republic party committee considers the situation with letters and reception of working people on a self-critical and exigent basis and persistently improves such work. This strengthens ties with the masses and beneficially affects the enhancement of the moral and political unity of the Soviet people.

The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized the importance of the propagandist and organizational role of the press in resolving communist construction tasks. The role of the rayon press, which is in the front line of the struggle for the implementation of plans for economic and social construction and which takes the party's word directly to the people, becomes particularly important. Bearing in mind the importance of this matter, the Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee passed a decree on strengthening the party's guidance of the rayon press and, at the end of August, held a seminar with editors on "Role of the Rayon Press in Implementing the Resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum."

The tasks formulated by the party for the implementation of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress are considerably increasing the requirements related to press publications and radio and television programs. They have become more substantive and better substantiated. Their content is more profound and subjects are discussed more efficiently and sharply.

Unannounced visits by editors together with people's control organs and representatives of public organizations have become a firm feature in the work of our press. Such investigations concentrate on the observance of discipline and order by the labor collectives, the economical and thrifty attitude toward the people's property, improvements in labor productivity and capital returns, organization of population services, and so on. The materials based on such unexpected visits, special sections or issues on most important problems published in the press or broadcast meet with broad social response. They help the party committees to mobilize the masses and inspire ministries, departments and economic managers to find reserves for the elimination of exposed shortcomings.

In order to maintain direct and efficient ties with collectives in the most important projects in the republic, the editors of republic and oblast

newspapers and the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting have set up 68 worker and peasant correspondent posts which objectively cover local affairs.

Press, radio and television publications on key problems of socioeconomic and cultural life trigger the mass response of readers, viewers and listeners. Many of the letters received express total support of the steps taken by the party to strengthen discipline and order at work and cite cases of irresponsibility and lack of discipline. Such human documents are a manifestation of the people's initiative and interest in the success of the common project. Suffice it to say that in 1982 alone the newspapers, journals, radio and television received more than 150,000 letters. Many of them include statesmanlike practical suggestions. Thus, I. Goncharov, a driver at the Frunze automobile base, published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA the article "To Conserve Means To Multiply." He discussed problems of improving the use of motor vehicles and increasing the conservation of fuels and lubricants. The Communist Party of Kirgizia Central Committee Bureau, which noted the accuracy, timeliness and great importance of such problems, passed a special decree on the subject.

The party committees direct the editors of newspapers and journals and the radio and television to continue to strengthen such living ties with the masses. Today the republic's press numbers an 11,000-strong detachment of worker and rural correspondents. The traditions of the worker and village correspondent movement are being further developed under the guidance of the party committees.

At its June Plenum the CPSU Central Committee noted the need to make systematic the addresses by heads of party committees, ministries and departments on television and in the press. Such addresses are becoming increasingly popular in the practical work of the mass information and propaganda media in the republic. The article by the first secretary of the Issyk-Kulskiy party raykom on experience gained in the application of the brigade contracting method in the countryside; of the first secretary of the Toktogulskiy Raykom on the effectiveness of educating and training young corn growers in the rayon, who average 150 to 160 quintals of corn grain per hectare; and the first secretary of the Naukatskiy Raykom on the new work methods used by the primary party organizations in upgrading the role and responsibility of the party members in all agricultural production sectors, which were carried out by SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN and SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, the republic newspapers, met with a good reception. Transmissions on the republic's television with the participation of the ministries of food industry, fruits and vegetable growing, and other managers, who answered questions submitted by television viewers or included in their letters or else directly asked by telephone, met with a great deal of interest and approval. Unfortunately, there still are cases in which some comrades avoid such addresses, limit themselves to superficial answers or, sometimes, simply reject critical remarks addressed to them. The Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee provides a principle-minded assessment of such facts and demands of the leading cadres to consider regular contacts with the masses through the press a direct official obligation.

The press, radio and television play an invaluable role in the dissemination of progressive experience and patriotic initiatives and in the struggle against shortcomings at work and in daily life. At the start of 1983 the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA published an address by the deputies of the Poltava Rural Soviet, Kalininskiy Rayon, on the efficient utilization of the land. The appeal was approved by the Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee and met with universal support. The work done in the republic helped to identify more than 3,000 hectares of previously unprofitably used or neglected land. For a number of months the newspaper SOVETIK KYRGYZSTAN has been sponsoring a serious discussion on rural construction problems, which profoundly affect all rural workers. Participating in the discussion are heads of rural party and soviet organs, construction organizations, rural workers, architects and designers. An extensive exchange of views has taken place. The usefulness of such materials is obvious and we try comprehensively to support them and to assist them in resolving set assignments.

The republic's party committees are seeing to it that material published in the press contains a charge of activeness and is effective, exposes shortcomings and, tangibly and knowledgeably, describes the achievements of front-rankers and contributes to enhancing the party's influence among the masses. It is entirely understandable that although the successful implementation of the responsible and complex task of ideological and mass political work depends on a number of factors, the key position here is held by the cadres. The professional competence, efficiency and political maturity of ideological cadres largely determine the effectiveness of the interaction between the party organizations and the toiling masses, aimed at implementing the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The republic party organization has today a large detachment of experienced ideological cadres and activists. Suffice it to say that all paid workers in the ideological department of the party committees have higher education and one out of five have higher political training. The qualitative structure of the journalists and the other detachments of ideological workers and activists is improving.

The party organizations are concerned with enhancing the theoretical knowledge and practical skills of ideological cadres. Over the past 2.5 years alone more than 220 people improved their skills at interrepublic and republic skill-upgrading courses. They account for more than half of the paid ideological workers of the party committees; more than 40 underwent training in the various central committee departments. The party committees regularly organize seminars and exchanges of practical experience for ideological cadres and the personnel of ideological institutions. All party gorkoms and raykoms operate permanent courses for the ideological aktiv. Last school year alone more than one-third of the propagandists within the party training system attended 2-week or short-term study courses.

The practical qualities of ideological workers cannot be separated from their moral features. Crystal-pure honesty and truthfulness toward the party, the state and the people are an absolute moral and professional requirement of cadres. They must not allow distortions of the true situation, try to gloss over it, or to embellish or exaggerate shortcomings, for this causes both economic and moral and political harm to our society. "We need," Lenin

emphasized, "total and truthful information. The truth should not depend on whom it serves" (op. cit., vol 54, p 446).

The prevention of abuses of official position and an irreconcilable attitude toward parasitism or any manifestations of private-ownership mentality have been and remain a strict moral and political criterion in our approach to ideological cadres. The Leninist workstyle demands of every ideological worker an active and truly communist life stance. It is this mandatory rule that guides the party committees in their choice and training of republic ideological cadres.

Let us note with warm gratitude the active participation of party, war and labor veterans in ideological education. They are irreplaceable assistants of the party organizations in the upbringing of the people, the young in particular. With their wisdom and extremely rich experience in building the new life, through their passionate bolshevik words and actions they help to resolve the major and difficult socioeconomic and educational problems. As tutors of young people, by experience and vocation, and raising them in the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the party and the people, they help the party organizations to strengthen their ties with the masses.

Work with this detachment of activists was particularly intensified after the CPSU Central Committee meeting with party veterans. The meeting itself and Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speech at the meeting were welcomed by the veterans and all republic working people with great enthusiasm and triggered a new flow of activeness. Today the party organizations are taking steps to increase the participation of the veterans in resolving problems related to the advancement of developed socialism. This matter was extensively discussed at one of the Communist Party of Kirghizia Central Committee plenums.

To the Kirghiz party organization ideological and political education work is one of the most important factors in maintaining ties with the masses and harnessing the working people for the implementation of the plans for economic and social development and solution of economic problems. The sources of the labor and political activeness of the working people, embodied in Kirghiz economic and cultural accomplishments, rest in the steady enhancement of the level and the intensification of such activities.

The resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum became a specific guide in attaining the party's objective of ensuring close unity among ideological, organizational and economic work and between words and actions.

In earmarking and implementing steps aimed at the further enhancement of ideological and mass political work, the Kirghiz republic party organization structures its activities on the basis of the comprehensive consideration of the dialectical unity between socioeconomic and ideological processes. The working people in the republic, like the rest of the Soviet people, see in the wise leadership of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by Yu. V. Andropov, Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, a real guarantee for the successful implementation of the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, and the triumph of peace and constructive work.

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## VIGOROUS FIGHTER OF LENIN'S GUARD

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 83 (signed to press 22 Nov 83) pp 65-73

[Article by D. Antonyuk, CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism deputy director; written on the occasion of the centennial of D. Z. Manuil'skiy's birth]

[Text] On Lenin's instructions...the chronicle of the revolution records hundreds of written verbal instructions issued by Lenin. These are eloquent proofs of the highest trust expressed by the leader. Vladimir Il'ich assigned the most important among them to those he knew well from the revolutionary struggle and whose loyalty to the cause of the party and the people he did not question. One such person was Dmitriy Zakharovich Manuil'skiy (1883-1959).

"Together with Ordzhonikidze Gatchinogo to organize the routing of the counter-revolutionary forces of Kerenskiy-Krasnov..."

"As member of the Soviet delegation, go to the Ukraine for talks with the Central Rada on the conclusion of a peace treaty..."

"As head of the RSFSR Red Cross mission to organize the return to the homeland of the soldiers in the expeditionary corps of the former tsarist army who took part in the battles for Verdun..."

Such direct and other Leninist instructions to D. Z. Manuil'skiy were successfully carried out.

In the period of preparations for the armed uprising, on Lenin's recommendation Manuil'skiy was made member of the military-revolutionary committee of the Petrograd soviet and subsequently named first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee and given a senior position within the Comintern. In all these positions he justified the party's trust.

Manuil'skiy's revolutionary and party-political activities are a particle of the heroic history of the communist party, a clear embodiment of the combat and revolutionary traditions of our party and an outstanding example for the present generations of builders of communism. It was precisely about such fiery fighters of the pre-October period that Lenin wrote the following: "These are people who, not for 1 or 2 years, but for an entire decade before the revolution had totally dedicated themselves to the struggle for the

liberation of the working class" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 20, p 82).

A naturally talented person with inordinate organizational capabilities, Manuil'skiy developed his ideological and political views among the Petersburg proletariat. A native of Svyatets village, Kremenetskiy Uyezd, Volyna Guberniya (today Khmel'nitskiy Oblast), he was raised in the family of the Volost scribe. After his graduation from the Ostrog high school, he entered the historical-philological department of Petersburg University. Here Manuil'skiy joined in the work of the student social democratic circles, attended gatherings and organized the printing of mimeographed leaflets. It was also here that in 1903 he joined the ranks of the RSDWP. As an active participant in the demonstrations against the Russo-Japanese War, a fiery propagandist among the workers at the Narva post and Vasil'yev Island and among the Kronshtadt seamen, he proved himself best as an agitator for the Petersburg-Bolshevik committee. He firmly defended the Leninist line of the strategy and tactics in the revolutionary struggle and soon became one of the leaders of the bolshevik organization and member of the Petersburg RSDWP committee, representing the Kronshtadt bolsheviks.

Manuil'skiy's first baptism of fire in the party was his participation in the organization of the July 1906 armed uprisings in Kronshtadt and Sveaborg. Following the suppression of the revolutionary actions he was detained and exiled to Arkhangelsk Guberniya. Along the way, at the Vologoda transfer jail, he was informed of his sentence: 5 years of exile in Yakutiya. However, the bolsheviks were able to organize his successful escape.

While working at the Kiev committee of the Bolshevik Party, Manuil'skiy dedicated a great deal of effort and energy to conspiratorial activities within the local military organization and the publication of the clandestine newspaper GOLOS SOLDATA. However, pursued by the tsarist police and gendarmes, he was forced to emigrate.

Manuil'skiy settled in Paris in the autumn of 1907 and worked within the local trade union organization of metal workers while simultaneously attending law school at the Sorbonne, from which he graduated in 1911. He spent all his free time in the French National Library, where he made a profound study of the works of the founders of scientific socialism and closely followed the periodical press which covered the class struggle and the development of the international labor movement. It was in Paris that Manuil'skiy met with Lenin for the first time. Subsequently, in his recollections, Dmitriy Zakharovich wrote that in the course of one of the discussions on the representation of the social democratic faction in the State Duma he, without realizing the entire situation in Russia, demanded that the bolshevik deputies be recalled from the Duma. "After my speech," he recalls, "Vladimir Il'ich took the floor and in literally a few minutes pinned me to the mat..."

Lenin's criticism helped Manuil'skiy to join the bolshevik ranks firmly, decisively and irreversibly. On instructions by the party's Central Committee, he carried out clandestine work in Moscow and Petersburg in 1912-1913. Soon afterwards, however, he was forced once again to emigrate.

After the overthrow of the autocracy, together with the other political emigres, Manuil'skiy returned to the homeland in May 1917, and immediately joined in preparations for the socialist revolution: he carried out party-propaganda work in Petrograd enterprises and military units with which he was well familiar, took part in the publication of bolshevik newspapers and became an editor of the journal VPERED, which became the organ of the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee in September 1917. By decision of the Central Committee, together with M. I. Kalinin and A. V. Lunacharskiy, as spokesman of the Petrograd city дума he engaged in an irreconcilable struggle against the Cadets, S.R.s and mensheviks and, displaying high party principle-mindedness and infinite faith in the victory of the working class, explained to the masses Lenin's April theses and ideas on problems of war, peace and revolution.

As a delegate to the 6th Party Congress, D. Z. Manuil'skiy firmly stood on Leninist positions. Totally dedicating himself to the struggle for the implementation of the historical decisions of the congress, this fiery agitator and spokesman for the revolution, together with the other members of the military-revolutionary committee, participated in the preparations for and organization of the armed uprising in Petrograd. On 18 October 1917 RABOCHIY PUT', the bolshevik newspaper, published the list of party members which the RSDWP(b) Central Committee recommended to the local party organizations as members of the Constituent Assembly. Along with V. I. Lenin, other outstanding party leaders included in the list were Ya. M. Sverdlov, M. I. Kalinin, F. E. Zherzhynskiy, A. V. Lunacharskiy, M. K. Krupskaya, S. G. Shaumyan and D. Z. Manuil'skiy.

On 25 October 1917, on Lenin's instructions and on behalf of the soviets of worker-peasant power, Kalinin, Lunacharskiy and Manuil'skiy, as the bolshevik spokesmen at the city дума, proclaimed that the Petrograd дума accepted the Soviet rule. When the Petrograd military cadets and officers tried to make a putsch, while Kerenskiy and General Krasnov moved troops from Tsarskoye Selo to Gatchino, Manuil'skiy carried out Lenin's instruction brilliantly. As Krasnoye Selo commissar he assumed command of the revolutionary units and displayed unusual qualities as organizer of the routing of counterrevolutionary activities.

Following Manuil'skiy's return to Petrograd the party assigned him to a new front in the struggle, as deputy people's commissar of food supplies and commissar extraordinary of the Northwestern Oblast. It was precisely here that he set up the first worker and sailor food detachments which he sent to the grain-growing areas.

During the stormy years of the civil war, despite his already greatly undermined health, without sparing himself, Manuil'skiy concentrated his entire organizational talents to the routing of the Denikin forces which were advancing on Kiev. He headed the political committee for the city's defense. He was a member of the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee and, subsequently, the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR. Following the full liberation of the Ukraine from the Petlyurov gangs and the Denikin forces and once the Soviet system had been definitively established on Ukrainian territory, Dmitriy Zakharovich actively engaged in party-political

work. As the person in charge of food supplies and land registration and as first secretary of the CP(b) of the Ukraine Central Committee, he rapidly gained a reputation among party and nonparty people and dedicated tremendous efforts to strengthening Soviet national policy and the fight against any manifestations of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and great-power chauvinism. Manuil'skiy played a great role in drafting the resolution on the founding of the USSR. In December 1922 he became member of the USSR Central Executive Committee. From the beginning of the 1920s he engaged in extensive work for the party's Central Committee. He was elected candidate member of the Central Committee at the 11th RKP(b) Congress and full Central Committee member from the 12th to the 18th congresses.

D. Z. Manuil'skiy's talent and organizational capabilities were manifested particularly clearly in the course of his work for the Comintern (1922-1943) because of his great experience in revolutionary and leading party activities. This international revolutionary proletarian organization of a new type, which was founded in 1919, faced the truly historical task of combining scientific socialism with the international workers movement and the practical embodiment of Leninism. The fact that Manuil'skiy went to work for the Comintern in 1922, became member of the IKKI in 1924, member of its Political Secretariat in 1926 and remained secretary of its executive committee from 1928 to the self-disbandment of the Comintern, in itself eloquently proves that he was a worthy representative of our Leninist party, enjoying tremendous trust, in the combat headquarters of the international communist and worker movements. In the course of more than 20 years in a leading position in the Comintern, Manuil'skiy made a major contribution to its organizational-political and ideological-theoretical activities.

Under the conditions of the Great October Revolution's revolutionizing impact on the upsurge of the international worker, democratic and national liberation movements and the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism in the 1920s-1930s, the founding and strengthening of communist parties in various parts of the world continued. Manuil'skiy was one of the leading Comintern personalities who actively contributed to this process. In his reports at Comintern congresses and IKKI plenums he profoundly analyzed the objective and subjective factors of the successes and difficulties of the international communist and worker movements and always formulated as the central task the need for the ideological and organizational strengthening of the communist parties and their conversion into mass parties; he called for the unification of all revolutionary forces in the struggle for social and national liberation.

It was largely precisely thanks to Manuil'skiy's purposeful efforts, as he consistently promoted the course charted by our party and its Central Committee, that the Leninist organizational principles of a proletarian party were established within the Comintern: centralism and intraparty democracy, which presumed the strictest possible discipline, the mandatory observance by lower bodies of decisions made by superior ones and the subordination of the minority to the majority.

Manuil'skiy's distinguishing feature was the fact that he combined firmness in the implementation of the Leninist principles in party work with great

tactfulness and respect for those around him, tremendous self-exigency and personal organization and discipline. This worthy representative of the great Leninist guard invariably proved in practical terms his competence to resolve major and minor matters. As a person with a broad political outlook, he tirelessly worked to combine collective leadership with personal responsibility for performing discipline and for asserting in Comintern activities one of the most important principles of the Leninist style of party work: profound democracy. Manuil'skiy initiated the collective development of theoretical problems of the global revolutionary process under the new conditions. He actively participated in rallying the creative forces so that at Comintern congresses and in its elected organs and publications the strategy and tactics of the struggle waged by the working class in the capitalist world be formulated on a collective basis.

D. Z. Manuil'skiy applied the Leninist principles of cadre policy to Comintern activities. He persistently recommended to the communist parties to select and promote to leading positions, both centrally and locally, workers and the poorest peasants loyal to the communist cause. He personally paid tremendous attention to their training, upbringing and ideological tempering in the spirit of Marxism and proletarian internationalism.

Manuil'skiy's high party principle-mindedness and responsibility and striking work stamina, spiritual generosity and tremendous erudition impressed the Comintern leadership and the leaders of the communist parties in many countries. He was loved and profoundly respected for these qualities and for his modesty, responsiveness and even-handed treatment of his fellow workers.

Manuil'skiy made a significant contribution to the development of the social sciences. His many writings which were published in our country and abroad contributed to the active dissemination of Marxism-Leninism and to historical knowledge. We must take into consideration the specific historical conditions under which he wrote. Manuil'skiy's scientific activities began during the first post-October years, when Marxist historiography had entered a qualitatively new stage of development and was taking place under the circumstances of a very grave ideological struggle. It was then that Lenin developed the theory of building socialism and laid the practical path to its implementation: the country's industrialization, agricultural collectivization and the cultural revolution. Manuil'skiy joined in this work with great enthusiasm.

Let us also not forget that Manuil'skiy wrote his works at a time when Marxist-Leninist methodology was only being established in a number of areas of social knowledge. Furthermore, during that time certain features of dogmatism, schematism and one-sided subjectivistic interpretations were apparent in the philosophical, economic, historical and other social sciences. This could not fail to influence some of his works.

In noting the centennial of the birth of this noted revolutionary, active propagandist of Marxist-Leninist theory and history of the CPSU and the international communist and worker movements, we proceed above all from Lenin's stipulation that historical merits are determined not on the basis of what historical personalities failed to accomplish in terms of contemporary

requirements but the new developments they originated in comparison to their own predecessors. This is entirely and totally consistent with Manuil'skiy's rich historical legacy.

Manuil'skiy worked on a very extensive set of problems related to the social requirements of building socialism in the land of the soviets and the tasks of the communist and worker movements in the international arena. The main topic of his works was invariably his defense of the revolutionary theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin and his concern for its extensive dissemination throughout the world. In works such as "Marxist Song of Songs," "Marxism as the Theory of Proletarian Dictatorship" and "Engels in the Struggle for Revolutionary Marxism," in bringing to light the main landmarks in the lives and revolutionary activities of the founders of scientific communism, Manuil'skiy profoundly and comprehensively discussed problems of the history of the class struggle. He closely linked the problems of revolutionary theory with the practice of building socialism in the USSR and the experience of the global revolutionary worker and liberation movements. He wrote that the great and insurmountable force of Marxism lies in the fact that it lives and develops alongside the proletariat and that it lives and is enriched through new experience and is sharpened in the struggle against its enemies. The immortal doctrine created by the founders of scientific communism was promoted in all the works of this Marxist scientist.

The study of Manuil'skiy's literary legacy proves that there is no work, report or speech in which this loyal pupil of Lenin failed to popularize the ideas of his great teacher. In his recollections of Lenin, Manuil'skiy describes the concept of Leninism as Marxism of the epoch of materialism and proletarian revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of colonialism and the victory of national liberation movements and the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism and to the building of a communist society.

Manuil'skiy defended Marxism-Leninism consistently from opportunistic and revisionistic right-wing and left-wing distortions also when he held the position of secretary of the IKKI. He played an exceptionally important role in organizing the publication of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin for the benefit of foreign readers. Starting with the second half of the 1920s, the Comintern executive committee approved every year at its meetings plans for the translation and publication of individual works by the founders of Marxism-Leninism or their collective works and anthologies. Manuil'skiy greatly assisted the commission in charge of publishing the collected works of Marx and Engels. He originated the idea of the publication of a "Marxist Library," and several series of pamphlets about Lenin and Leninism. On the basis of a thoroughly developed editorial plan the IKKI publishing house was assigned the task of publishing 1,535 titles in 26 different languages in 1932. The plan was carried out in its essential lines. Millions of copies of books and pamphlets helped to disseminate the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism throughout the earth.

The concept of socioeconomic systems, which was first developed by Marxism-Leninism, is the cornerstone of the materialistic view on history. Following the victory of the Great October Revolution the attention of the world's public toward this scientific category became particularly strong. Socialism,

which had converted from utopia to science and which had become reality triggered the tremendous interest of all progressive mankind. Under circumstances in which the defenders of imperialism were trying to reject the laws governing the development of the new social system and were distorting and misrepresenting its true history, the Marxists and all progressive scientists in the world were firmly taking of the defense of socialism as the new social system replacing capitalism.

Manuil'skiy was one of the active propagandists of socialist theory and practice. "Now, when the bourgeoisie is urging on the world toward imperialist wars, when it is smashing the disarmed working class in capitalist countries, we can see with particular clarity what the theory of building socialism in a single country means to the global revolutionary movement. This was and remains a theory of most profound proletarian solidarity and of the greatest possible internationalism of the VKP(b)," he said in the accountability report on the work of the VKP(b) delegation within the IKKI, submitted at the 17th Party Congress.

Manuil'skiy made a great contribution to the dissemination of historical knowledge. He tirelessly popularized and creatively developed the basic concepts of Marxist-Leninist theory and history. In his speeches at party and Comintern congresses and to the working people, on the basis of the revolutionary doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin he explained the objective laws governing social development, the inevitable doom of capitalism and its replacement by a communist system, always emphasizing the significance of the historical mission of the proletariat as the gravedigger of capitalism and as the builder of the new society.

The study of Manuil'skiy's literary legacy enables us to single out in his creative laboratory the major topic related to the history of building socialism in the Soviet Union. In many of his writings he covered the processes of the preparations for and making of the October Revolution.

As an active veteran of the October Revolution and defender of its gains, Manuil'skiy made a substantial contribution to the interpretation of the historical significance of the first victorious proletarian revolution. As early as 1918 he wrote the pamphlet "Two Revolutions" under his old pseudonym of I. Bezrabortnyy, and 5 years later, the book "The German Revolution and the USSR." In a popular style the author described the objective socioeconomic prerequisites for the victory of the socialist revolution and the role of the subjective factor in it. He covered a rather vast range of problems of the history of the proletarian revolution made by the Russian working class allied with the toiling peasantry and under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin.

Manuil'skiy discussed in detail the importance of the experience of the October Revolution to the development of the global revolutionary process and the specific historical manifestation of the general laws and principles of proletarian internationalism in the revolutions which had broken out in Hungary, Germany and other countries, in his subsequent works "Classes, State and Party During the Period of Proletarian Dictatorship" (1928), "The USSR and

the World Proletariat" (1932), "Results of the Building of Socialism in the USSR" (1935) and others. With specific historical data he proved the influence of the October Revolution on social policies of the ruling classes in the capitalist countries, which were forced to yield to the pressure of the proletariat.

Manuil'skiy's unquestionable services include the dissemination of knowledge on the cultural revolution in the USSR in general and the spiritual growth of the Soviet peasantry in particular. What made this even more important was the fact that during that period, as M. I. Kalinin noted at one of the plenums of the Peasant International, the huge peasant masses throughout the world had not as yet become exposed to culture. The active publishing and verbal propaganda activities of the Peasant International helped millions of rural workers to learn about the condition of proletarian culture before the October Revolution and the birth of a new, socialist culture after its victory.

Manuil'skiy published convincing works on the elimination of illiteracy, political-educational and mass cultural work in the countryside, the steady increase in the role of books, newspapers, journals and motion pictures in the spiritual life of the Soviet peasantry and the extensive voluntary cultural activities of the people's masses.

D. Z. Manuil'skiy greatly contributed to writing the history of the international communist and worker movements, to the development of which the Comintern played a tremendous role from the 1920s to the beginning of the 1940s. In analyzing the extremely rich data on the activities of communist and worker parties, he invariably tried to understand the feelings of the working people in different countries, their needs and their concerns. Together with other Comintern leaders Manuil'skiy helped the fraternal parties to master the art of effective organization of the masses, so that they may advance more successfully toward social and national liberation. In formulating the policy of the struggle for the interests of the working class and in his study of the problems of the international communist and worker movements he showed total lack of schematism and always proceeded on the basis of the specific historical conditions pervading in the various countries and peoples, their mentality, mores, way of life and level of consciousness, and the correlation between the general and the specific features of concrete demands and battle slogans. Manuil'skiy repeatedly pointed out that the rapprochement among the various social groups, based on their objective status in society, nature of labor, material living conditions and extent of exploitation by capital, did not as yet mean a common level of consciousness and that the mentality of these social strata in countries different in terms of economic and cultural development was not the same. Therefore, he emphasized, any stereotype in the approach to work among the masses must be totally excluded.

In accordance with Lenin's behests, Manuil'skiy and the other Comintern leaders paid great attention to the development of the peasant movement in various countries in the period between the wars. They tried to implement Lenin's stipulation on the need "to ascribe the peasant movement a most

strongly revolutionary nature and to promote the closest possible alliance between the Western European communist proletariat and the revolutionary movement of the peasants in the Orient, the colonies and, in general, the backward countries" (op. cit., vol 41, pp 166-167).

Manuil'skiy extensively propagandized the conclusion of the founders of scientific communism to the effect that the basic interests of the working class and peasantry in a capitalist society are essentially coincidental. The exploitation of the peasants is distinguished by that of the industrial proletariat only in terms of its form. The exploiter is one and the same--capital (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 7, pp 85-86).

A typical feature of Manuil'skiy activities in the Comintern was the persistent and substantiated exposure of the groundlessness of reformist concepts which rejected the need to develop the class struggle and the course of preparations for a socialist revolution. His publications exposed the entire falsity and demagogy of political parties and organizations favoring class cooperation and trying, through reforms within the framework of bourgeois legality, to turn capitalism into a society of "general prosperity," and to adapt it to the new historical circumstances without changing the nature of the system itself or engaging in making radical revolutionary changes.

Manuil'skiy's works on the socioeconomic situation of the working class and peasantry and the revolutionary movement in economically underdeveloped countries assume great significance from the historiographic and source viewpoints.

D. Z. Manuil'skiy extensively contributed to the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas on the decisive role of the popular masses in history. In his publications during the 1920s and 1930s he firmly and consistently supported the idea of a popular front as one of the tried methods for the unification of the broad masses in the struggle against fascism and war.

In his work "The Results of the 7th Congress of the Communist International," he thoroughly substantiated the thesis that the popular front is based on working class unity and the solid alliance between the working class and the peasantry. He further developed the idea of the significance of democratic political parties and trade union, women's, youth, cooperative and other mass organizations united within the popular front. Manuil'skiy deserves great credit for the study, summation and extensive dissemination of the experience of the creation and consolidation of popular fronts in France, followed by Spain and Chile.

His addresses at party congresses and conferences and plenums of the VKP(b) Central Committee were distinguished by his profound knowledge of the theory and history of Marxism-Leninism and ability to apply them to the study of specific historical reality. He passionately and convincingly defended the Leninist theory and practice of building socialism in the USSR. In his speeches at the 17th and 18th party congresses, Manuil'skiy described the historical significance of the basic social changes which had taken place as a consequence of the policy of the industrialization of the country and the

collectivization of agriculture. He emphasized the importance of the experience which had been gained to enriching the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism and the manifestation of the laws of building socialism, which were universal and international in nature.

In a number of works Manuil'skiy refined the understanding of the specific features of real socialism. As an active fighter for the ideological defeat of anti-Leninist trends, he firmly exposed Trotskyism and right-wing opportunism which opposed the socialist reconstruction of the national economy. His speeches at the party congresses helped to concretize the functions and role of the socialist state in building socialism in the USSR and substantiated the need for the further strengthening of the party and enhancing its leading role in the struggle for socialism.

During the Great Patriotic War, Manuil'skiy dedicated his entire strength, knowledge and skill to the political education of Red Army troops. His fiery articles and speeches called upon troops and commanders and all Soviet people to display firmness and courage and to defeat the hated enemy.

After the victory over Hitlerite fascism, Dmitriy Zakharovich dedicated himself to the struggle for peace, friendship and security of the peoples. As deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Sovnarkom and the republic's people's commissar of foreign affairs he headed the delegation of Soviet Ukraine at the international conference in San Francisco, where the United Nations organization was founded, and actively participated in drafting its founding documents. His signature may be found under the UN charter. As a talented speaker and polemicist and firm party fighter, at the 1946 Paris Peace Conference, the UN General Assembly sessions and a number of international conferences and gatherings Manuil'skiy substantiatedly, consistently and firmly defended the foreign policy course of the Soviet state aimed at strengthening peace and international cooperation.

The life and activities of Dmitriy Zakharovich Manuil'skiy are inseparable from the history of the communist party and its struggles for the victory of the socialist revolution and for building socialism in our country. As a practical party worker and one of the outstanding Comintern leaders and a major historian, D. Z. Manuil'skiy promoted with Leninist consistency and bolshevik principle-mindedness the party line of unity and cohesion within its ranks. He tirelessly struggled for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and that is the way he will be remembered by our people forever.

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## PROLETARIAT FACING THE ONSLAUGHT OF THE MONOPOLIES

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[Article by Prof A. Galkin]

[Text] The most important factor which determines today the struggle waged by the working class in the industrially developed capitalist countries is the further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. Economically it is manifested in a general slowdown of the pace of development, the increased frequency and intensification of cyclical crises, their increased duration and the growth of mass unemployment which is independent of economic fluctuations. In turn, these phenomena are triggered by factors such as the growing contradiction between the objective internationalization of economic relations and capitalist operational methods, a clear demarcation of the boundaries of solvent demand, the wearing out of existing methods of state-monopoly control and many others.

The capitalist use of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, which has proved its groundlessness, has a particularly painful effect on the situation of the working class.

During the postwar period mankind acquired scientific knowledge and created technical developments which opened the way to the radical reorganization of production processes. Such a reorganization can ensure, to begin with, the possibility of changing the structure of raw materials through the partial substitution of synthetic for natural raw materials; secondly, substantial savings of raw material and energy are achieved as a result of the use of less energy- and material-intensive technological processes; thirdly, basic changes occur in the methods for treating and processing raw materials and semifinished goods through the application of thermal, chemical and other similar methods; fourthly, labor is extensively replaced by machines. The direct result of such a reorganization would be, on the one hand, a change in the nature and content of labor as a result of a drastic reduction of its physical elements, heavy and harmful operations above all and, on the other, a great decrease in the overall amount of labor used and, therefore, of manpower utilization.

Such possibilities open new prospects for the advancement of social relations. However, the capitalist form of utilization of scientific and technical achievements distorted this process from the very start.

As long as the low level of energy and raw material prices and the relative deficiency of the mechanisms for state-monopoly control ensured economic progress, the possibility of making essentially new production decisions on the basis of the scientific and technical revolution were largely ignored. A certain increase in the cost of manpower during the 1950s and 1960s, based on the successful struggle waged by the working class in the main developed capitalist countries, was also an insufficient incentive for the entrepreneurs to make such decisions. In an atmosphere of economic expansion a certain diminution of profit norms was largely compensated by substantial volume increases.

Consequently, despite the trends dictated by the scientific and technical revolution, the main line of development of the capitalist economy was defined by the fact that economic growth guided by profit considerations continued to be directed toward wasteful production methods which ignored the actual balance of natural resources and the possibilities of the environment. That is why no proper scope of development was provided for technological trends which ensured the possibility of production based on the maximal conservation of energy and raw material resources. The corresponding application of the most important achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in production, with the exception of isolated sectors, proved to be sporadic or, at best, partial. Meanwhile, economic and socially unjustified harm was caused to labor-intensive production oriented toward the manufacturing of high-quality goods for private consumption.

However, already then circumstances were developed which subsequently led to a decisive change in the situation. The outbreak of the energy and raw material crises put an end to the illusory views on the practical inexhaustibility of energy and raw material resources on which technology was based. The energy and raw material crises accelerated the advent of the 1974-1975 cyclical crisis, giving it also a particularly grave and profound nature. Capitalism was forced to part with inexpensive energy and raw materials. Rivalry on the global marketplace intensified while the possibility of marketing commodities within the country and abroad declined. At the same time, the efforts of the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of the losses caused by the crisis to the toiling masses encountered the latter's opposition. In brief, a new powerful incentive appeared for converting to production methods which made it possible for capitalism to lower power and raw material consumption, and guaranteed additional drops in production costs as a result of economy within the production process itself, above all by reducing outlays for manpower, considered expensive from the capitalist viewpoint. Since by that time the continuing development of new technologies and equipment had assumed very economical forms, the extensive conversion to a new technological base became not only possible but also necessary.

It was obvious that a conversion to a new base could not be accomplished within a short time, as it also required huge funds and comprehensive technological developments in the individual sectors and trends, specifically trained manpower, and many others. That is why the actual process did not develop simultaneously in the various sectors, not to mention countries.

Nevertheless, a general trend in that direction was noted. Its pace accelerated and the isolated areas in which the use of new equipment and technology, which had been developed during the previous decade, began increasingly to expand and merge.

The socioeconomic consequences of these trends became fully apparent by the 1980s.

Since the reorganization of the production base affected the deep structures, entire sectors were struck. This particularly applied to the crisis in the metallurgical industry, which has now assumed extremely grave features not as a result of overproduction of commodities in absolute terms and production decline but of the sharp decline in metal consumption.

In turn, this crisis triggered many difficulties in the ore-mining industry as a result of declining demand for mineral raw materials, including some which, shortly before that, were considered scarce.

The use of new raw material processing methods with modern modular robots and other similar equipment using microelectronic elements contributed to a drastic decline in most popular traditional skills in the processing industry and, correspondingly, to a radical reorganization of employment in it. In non-material production the use of contemporary equipment based on microelectronics and the latest organization of labor stimulated a mass drop in the volume of manpower. This process has already seriously affected office work and banking, communications, trade, etc.

Persistent mass unemployment was one of the immediate results of all this.

Initially, thanks to the conversion of the production process to a new technological base, manpower savings were secondary among the factors which had determined its appearance. When mass layoffs began in the capitalist world during the cyclical 1974-1975 crisis, they were caused mainly by drops in industrial output in the course of the economic decline. During the very next stage, however, the importance of the technological restructuring became a noticeable reason for declines in employment. In almost all of the main capitalist countries the volume of manpower used remained virtually unchanged while the stage of decline was surmounted and followed by increased production. In other words, a new volume of services and commodities, greater than at the beginning of the crisis, was produced by the same number of people engaged in public production at the peak of the decline. Millions of people who had lost their jobs as a result of production declines proved to be unneeded even after it had picked up. This precisely explained the seemingly unusual circumstance of continuing and even somewhat increasing mass unemployment after the crisis had ended.

By the end of the 1970s, as a result of the new technology and equipment, manpower savings became an instrument of the basic dynamics in both employment and its opposite, unemployment. During the 1980s this process was substantially intensified by the next cyclical crisis. The flow of manpower laid off in the course of the technological reorganization merged with the

flow which had developed as a result of production drops caused by economic circumstances. The growth of unemployment was further stimulated by demographic changes as a particularly numerous generation of people born during the first half of the 1960s entered the labor market in a number of developed capitalist countries. However, as in the past the extensive use of labor-saving technology played a determining role in the employment crisis.

Naturally, these processes did not affect the various lines of activity in the same manner, in terms of the scale of decline in employment and its specific aspects. We already mentioned metallurgy, the mining industry and nonmaterial production. The most characteristic feature in the processing industry was the noticeable and increasingly accelerated decline in the need for manpower employed in intermediary raw material processing. The main reason for this was changes in technological processing as a result of the substitution of raw materials or shortening of the technological chain and manpower layoffs as a result of manipulators and industrial robots.

Another factor which had a specific impact on employment was the fact that the technological changes caused by the current stage of the scientific and technical revolution provided new opportunities for the reorganization of production and labor methods. In a number of sectors today's technological level requires the preservation and even the expansion of large-scale concentrated production and, consequently, the concentration, territorial included, of large masses of hard labor. At the same time, individual production facilities, the number of which is steadily growing, do not require high-level technological or economic concentration. This phenomenon has been the objective base of changes in the structure of production units noted in recent years; essentially this means that the basic and optimal production unit is a medium-sized enterprise surrounded by a network of branches and connected to numerous suppliers.

Capitalism is using this trend in relocating individual production lines or branches in areas it deems more advantageous, above all wherever the level of organization of the working class and its ability to resist are lower compared to traditionally industrialized areas. The result is a peculiar distribution of employment which, insufficiently reflected in general statistical indicators, contributes to the appearance of concentrated unemployment in the most populous and developed centers.

We must add to this the broad extent of modern forms of cottage industry; this enables capitalism to combine highly skilled manpower with a backward labor relations system, for people working in the cottage industry are particularly poorly protected against employers' arbitrariness. This too helps to erode traditional employment.

To a certain extent this also applies to temporary employment which is currently becoming a characteristic feature in the development of labor relations in a number of industrially developed capitalist countries.

At the same time, the requirements concerning the quality of the manpower are being modified as a result of the reorganization of the production process.

In this case a number of trends become closely interwoven, including conflicting ones. On the one hand, the new technology and equipment demand of the worker high-level general and professional training, ability and readiness to change his specific labor functions, initiative, independent decision-making, and so on. This applies to highly skilled workers. However, job openings for such workers remain limited and their share in the overall amount of hired labor remains relatively small. Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that along with such jobs the scientific and technical revolution leads to the creation of employment in which the various operations are characterized by their monotony and require limited professional training.

On the other hand, the erosion of a number of traditional sectors, usually paralleled by updating remaining enterprises on the level of simple mechanization, frequently leads to the disappearance (or drastic reduction) of the number of highly skilled professions of the old artisan type. This leads to the direct dequalification of the manpower as a result of replacing traditionally skilled with semiskilled labor. Even the simple mechanization of heavy physical work is hindered in a capitalist country with significant inexpensive manpower (foreign workers in particular).

As a whole, with the use of new technology, the quality of the manpower improves. This process, however, is neither continuing nor simple.

Existing trends show that the reduced amount of labor as a result of new technology and equipment is merely at its beginning, regardless of the entire significance of its current consequences. Therefore, the current removal of manpower from public production will in all likelihood continue at a growing pace, independently of changes in current unemployment-triggering factors: the state of the economy, migrations and demographic processes. The number of people without jobs will continue to grow.

In this case, however, matters are not reduced to quantitative indicators alone. The unemployment structure itself changes. In the past, most of the unemployed were people in the older age groups, with limited work capacity or unwilling to retrain. The proportion of declassed elements at the lower social levels was relatively high. Today's unemployment, essentially determined by manpower layoffs as a result of the reorganization of the production base, has been extended to a manpower of an entirely different nature. It includes, on the one hand, highly educated young people who are unable to enter the production process after graduation for lack of jobs and, on the other, semiskilled and skilled workers in the mass professions, the demand for which is declining rapidly. Both--unlike the old-type unemployed--are characterized by a developed structure of needs and, something particularly noteworthy, high level of social activeness.

There has also been a sharp increase in chronic unemployment. Whereas in the past unemployment was temporary and interrupted by periods of more or less lengthy employment, today it is lasting and in many cases threatens to become permanent. The lack of an effective vocational training and retraining system turns chronic unemployment into an increasing dequalification of people

who have lost their jobs and, in extreme cases, their dropping out of society. "Mass unemployment, a crime which was considered by many people no more than a vestige of the past, has become today the lot of millions of people," noted Gordon McClellan, secretary general of the Communist Party of Great Britain, at the international scientific conference on "Karl Marx and Our Time--Struggle for Peace and Social Progress," which was held last April in Berlin. "The likelihood of reducing it substantially is poor without the implementation of an entirely new social and economic policy, the type of policy suggested by the communists, the left wing of the Labor Party and other progressive forces."

Continuing mass unemployment could be counteracted by significantly increasing the volume of industrial output which could compensate to a certain extent for the labor-saving effects of the use of new technology. However, such an increase is unlikely. Even after the current dragging cyclical crisis has touched bottom, the possibility of increasing production will encounter increasingly rigid limits of solvent demand. The capacity of domestic markets has been undermined by the increasing decline of the population's purchasing power because of inflationary processes, the pressure of capital on real wages, reduced employment, curtailed social benefits, and so on. In turn, the previously practiced artificial stimulation of solvent demand on foreign markets has already led to such a level of international indebtedness that the global monetary system is being threatened. Under these circumstances the possibility of extensively using such stimuli in the future appears rather limited.

In this connection, it is also important to bear in mind that the decline or slowdown in the growth of the national product, caused by the already mentioned circumstances, triggers an increasing stress in state finances. The social benefits system is the first victim of this stress. This system, which developed during the period of relative economic upsurge as a result of the successful struggle waged by the labor movement, operated with relative normalcy under a generally forward development of the economy and the limited number of people needing such benefits. With the drop of the GNP and a significant increase in the number of people surviving with the help of social benefits, the system becomes financially untenable. Since the ruling imperialist upper crust shows no readiness to reduce outlays for armaments for its sake, the social infrastructure begins to break down.

In general, the existing situation has encouraged the mounting of a capitalist offensive against the positions held by the working class in an effort to achieve a "social revenge," while also hindering any possible rebuff. The main topic of the current clashes is who will bear the main burden of losses and outlays caused by the crisis and the costs of anticrisis measures. In the final account, hired labor, the working people in general, become the scapegoat.

The mass expulsion of the able-bodied population from the production process and turning unemployment into a way of life are equivalent to the separation of the working people into two segments: the employed and the unemployed. The unwitting competition between them weakens the positions of both in opposing the capitalist class.

To the working segment of the population the pressure exerted by the tremendous reserve army of the proletariat weakens its positions on the labor market. An increasingly uncertain future, fear of losing one's job and the psychological pressure of the environment weaken the militant spirit of the workers and force them to assume defensive positions and make much greater concessions than required by the economic situation, the level of social wealth and the real ratio among class forces. In turn, the constant and considerable surplus of labor over demand makes capitalism particularly aggressive and facilitates its use of methods for pressuring the working class such as lockouts, promotion of quarrels among the different professional and age groups through a purposeful system of layoffs or, conversely, guaranteeing some worker categories against layoffs.

The situation in which the unemployed segment of the population has found itself means not only material difficulties which are somewhat eased by an imperfect system of social aid, but also profound moral upheavals, fraught with loss of faith in one's competence and self-respect, break-up of social relations, and so on. Under their influence, the effect on the individual increases the longer he remains unemployed. It particularly affects the minds and behavior of the members of the young general population for whom participation in public production has been blocked from the very start.

A situation in which a significant and ever-increasing segment of society is removed from participation in public production bears within itself the embryo of serious although varying changes in the deployment of political forces. To the extent to which individuals removed from the production process retain their social and sociopsychological ties with the groups to which they belonged previously, their sociopolitical orientation and behavior remain unchanged. However, as such ties weaken and break new situations and orientations develop, which reflect the changed position in society of the individuals it has rejected.

Sometimes the break-up of old social relations converts one group or another which has been removed from the production process into a specific marginal stratum characterized by extreme rebelliousness. Such feelings are frequently nonpolitical and are manifested in the blind desire to release the accumulated anger. Under certain circumstances they could become a source of reinforcement of reactionary, including neofascist, movements.

By the turn of the 1980s, anticipating new clashes with the working class and inspired by the desire to take revenge for its own failure and social gains of the working people, international capitalism intensified the mobilization of its reserves. The increased internationalism of capital broadened its ability to maneuver. In turn, this hindered the working class in its use of the national governmental institutions, which became less responsive to pressure from below. In a number of countries attempts at using against the working class legislative and administrative power institutions intensified, by pressuring the trade unions, restricting the most efficient and acute forms of struggle waged by the working class and so on.

World events are also used by capitalism to strengthen its positions for the forthcoming social battles. At the turn of the 1980s the policy of the

ruling circles in the United States drastically worsened the international situation. In the final account, this course is based on the illusory hope of allowing the American imperialists to rely on "pax Americana" or, in other words, on U.S. global hegemony. This course is most closely tied to social reasons. It relies on the use of tension in relations among governments belonging to different social systems as an efficient tool for pressuring the working class in the interest of monopoly capital. It helps to heat up chauvinistic hysteria, creates the illusion of unity of national interests and brings to life the mentality of the "besieged home." Under these circumstances it becomes simpler, citing the interests of defense, to summon the people to make extreme sacrifices.

Under these circumstances, the working class and its organizations must mobilize all their forces to repel the class enemy. Its interest in waging an active struggle against the threat of war and for peaceful cooperation is determined by a number of objective circumstances: the human objectives of the working class as the leading force of social change, the understanding that the working people are usually the first and principal victim of military conflicts and the aspiration to prevent the arms race, which is both the source and the result of worsened international relations and lowers the living standards of the people, puts the economy out of shape and absorbs funds which are so greatly needed for the solution of urgent social problems.

The worsening of the international situation threatens to undermine the active economic relations which were developed in the 1970s between countries with different social systems. The strengthening and development of such relations is of exceptional importance to the working class in the capitalist parts of the world, for it not only guarantees the preservation of hundreds of thousands of jobs but is also an important factor which stabilizes the overall economic situation.

No less important is the fact that in an atmosphere of aggravating conflict the right wing, previously pushed into the background as a result of the failure of the cold war policy, is becoming particularly energized. It is now trying to convert rightist tendencies, which have been noted in recent years in some capitalist countries, into a universal thrust as a result of which the 1980s would become a decade of comprehensive right-wing pressure. For the working class such a development would be fraught with the loss of significant economic, social and political positions gained after the war.

The struggle against such a development is the second focal point of the class conflicts, no longer based on international but on domestic political matters. The attempts by capitalism to gain "social and political revenge" can be successful. Naturally, the economic decline hinders the mass struggle. However, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, the fact that an economic depression exists does not in itself lead to the conclusion that it can stop the mass struggle in general. "... At a certain stage of events," he wrote, "that same depression will involve new masses and fresh forces in the political struggle. The solution of this problem can be only one: to follow closely the pulse of the entire political life in the country and, particularly, the dynamics and moods of the broad proletarian masses" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 17, p 282).

Yet it is precisely the mass struggle that is the most real and effective means which could ensure the decisive opposition to capitalist encroachments.

The increased economic difficulties and the intensified social and political tension they create, encountered in the 1980s by the industrially developed capitalist countries, have made particularly urgent the problem of the directions and nature of social changes. Discussions on this topic have been energized.

Naturally, attention has been focused on problems of basic significance: the reasons for the development of the economic crisis and the means of weakening it; the extent of the crisis and, consequently, the nature of the immediate future; possible repercussions of the intensification of the crisis in the social and political areas and its influence on the consciousness and behavior of the masses, the role under such circumstances of the bourgeois-parliamentary system in its institutions, its possibilities and degree of stability and the nature and forms of radical political changes.

The answer to the intensification of the crisis suggested by the right-wing bourgeois camp is simple. As the spokesman for the antidemocratic reaction to the fast industrial and sociopolitical development of previous decades, the ideologues of this camp claim that the entire trouble which has affected capitalist society is the result of the fatal orientation "toward progress," the result of which was an uncontrolled development of production forces and the impossibility to forecast a worsening of economic structures, as well as the growing aspirations of the toiling masses toward acquiring their share of the overall national product and the "excessive" extent of political influence and political activeness of rank-and-file citizens "ignorant of the secrets of leadership," and so on. Corresponding prescriptions have been drawn up: in the economic area, a return to the free play of economic forces without outside intervention and abandoning the inflationary stimulation of production; in the social area, reducing to a minimum the system of social benefits created as a result of a long struggle waged by the working people, a course toward intensified social differentiation, considered as the basic incentive for the economic energizing of the citizenry; in the political area, weakening the dependence of the ruling circles on pressure from below, strengthening the repressive units of the state apparatus and the maximum possible depoliticizing of the main population masses.

This kind of bourgeois-conservative answer to the crisis development of the capitalist society was practically tested in its "purest" form in the United States and, in a somewhat softer variant, in Britain and the FRG. As we know, the results of this experiment proved to be disastrous not only to the toiling population but to the countries as a whole.

In the reformist camp, the social reformist camp above all, the aggravation of the crisis intensified the polarization between moderate and radical reformism. In an effort to save the system of values they had established during the previous stage of capitalist development, when the manifestations of its crisis were not so strong, the moderate reformists are pretending that in the 1980s capitalism is not experiencing anything not included in anticipated social reformist assessments. Unable to deny that the economy of the

industrially developed capitalist countries is in a difficult situation, they are doing their best to minimize the depth and consequences of the present crisis. They deny the serious danger threatening the social gains of the toiling population and even express their willingness to make concessions to capitalism for the sake of the common "national" interests. They continue to display their unconditional faith in the inviolability of the bourgeois parliamentary institutions and the ability of the latter to act as political umpires acting outside and above the classes. They either deny or minimize the danger of the intensification of antidemocratic trends, something convincingly confirmed by the situation in the United States and, of late, in Western Europe and, particularly, Great Britain and the FRG, as manifestations of the ideological and political crisis of the capitalist society and their use in propping up the weakened positions of the ruling class. As in the past, they consider the struggle against crisis upheavals only from the viewpoint of electoral advantages.

The left wing of the social reformists looks at the current situation of the capitalist society far more seriously. Its representatives are acknowledging with increasing frequency the qualitative distinction between the previous and the present crises. They are ready to oppose more firmly the efforts of the ruling class to reduce to a minimum the system of social benefits in the capitalist countries. Acknowledging the limited influence which the lower toiling strata have on political processes and political decision-making in their countries, they demand the expanded participation of the entire population in such decision-making, considering it a block to the autocratic distortion of the bourgeois-parliamentary system.

However, regardless of the various shades based on national or party affiliation, the left-wing reformists retain many illusions concerning contemporary capitalism. They are partially due to their exaggerated assessment of democratic gains achieved by the working people after the war and a clearly minimized danger of their loss, which is precisely the objective of big capital today in the course of its neoconservative onslaught.

Another kind of illusion is related to the means to be used for the abolishment of the economic, social and political structures which are the prime reasons for the present crisis. Such illusions are based on absolutizing the gradual approach as a form of implementation of social changes which, ignoring some subjective aspects, leads to the rejection of revolutionary change.

Such illusions also include the hope that further scientific and technical progress will bring about the appearance of some kind of "new industrial model" free from the vices of the contemporary capitalist society. The faith in the possibility of such a "model" is based on exaggerated reliance on the fact that contemporary technology will make the small enterprises highly viable, thus "replacing" the big monopolies as the pivot of the production mechanism. It is claimed that such enterprises will not only be able to eliminate the faults of the "old industrial model" but will also create an economic base which will favor the elimination of excessive concentration of economic and political power and will encourage self-management and the democratization of social relations. As a rule, the question of how such a utopian production system and the superstructural mechanisms based on it will develop is thoroughly ignored.

The revolutionary wing of the labor movement considers the developing situation the result of the accumulation of contradictions within the capitalist production method. It sees in it a new proof of the fact that capitalism as a social system has become obsolete and needs not partial repairs but to be replaced by socialism.

In assessing the current status of the capitalist economy as a profound and primary structural crisis, the supporters of the revolutionary current in the labor movement proceed from the fact that palliatives and "cosmetic" measures are insufficient if the crisis is to be surmounted, and that the struggle against it requires a firm revision of the economic structure and, consequently, radical change on the political level. In the social area the supporters of this current are struggling for the further strengthening and broadening of the gains of the working class, which they consider a safeguard against the attempts of capitalism to improve its situation at the expense of the masses. In the political area the emphasis is put on the democratization of existing power institutions and the prevention of their totalitarian distortion, which is desired by the right-wing forces linked to the most militant factions of monopoly capital.

Naturally, the working class cannot limit itself merely to a defensive strategy. In repelling the reaction's attempts to deprive it of its previous gains, it inevitably faces the need to offer its own solution to the problems of our time. Past experience proves the importance of formulating as an initial step specific anticrisis programs which would offer a real alternative to the economic policies of the ruling class. Such programs, based on the situation of the 1980s, are particularly necessary.

The revolutionary wing of the labor movement supports in this respect the programs formulated by the mass trade union movement, aimed at the reorganization of the production process on a new technological base in accordance with the interests of the working people. Such programs are valuable in themselves, for they help to satisfy some of the vital needs of the working people. They are also steps on the way to radical changes and are a means toward more decisive destruction of existing socioeconomic structures.

In discussing such programs it is a question above all of a more just distribution of the existing volume of labor from the viewpoint of most working people. Specifically, this presumes the preservation and expansion of employment by shortening the work week without reducing salaries, extending paid leave, lowering the retirement age and so on. Such programs have already become the immediate target of the trade unions' socioeconomic and political struggle.

It is particularly important to note that such programs also presume the opening of new realms of application of labor primarily in the noncapitalized public sector (culture, education, health care, sports, environmental protection, development of new social infrastructures, etc.). The implementation of such requirements leads to an invasion of the profound mechanisms of capitalist society, for it presumes the expansion of the public employment sector with all its consequences.

Their implementation will require a greater concentration of funds in the hands of state and public bodies and a decisive reorientation of investments toward socially necessary labor-intensive realms of activity. The sources of such funds may be found in the superprofits of the ruling class and inflated military expenditures.

Unquestionably, the full implementation of these programs is inseparably linked to decisive progress on the part of the working class toward its end objective--the revolutionary replacement of capitalist with socialist production relations. Unity of action, both national and international, is a major prerequisite for resolving the problems facing the working class and the labor movement in the 1980s. The communists and all conscientious workers are focusing their efforts on the creation of such unity. The working class and the labor movement in the industrially developed capitalist countries have reached today an important development stage. They are seriously threatened. However, they have all the necessary opportunities not only for repelling the current monopoly offensive but also for defeating it.

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## SOCIETY OF MASS UNEMPLOYMENT: SCALE, CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES

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[Article by Dr of Economic Sciences Yu. Shishkov]

[Text] In the past few months some Western political leaders and bourgeois press organs, American in particular, have been expatiating on the fact that the capitalist economy is beginning to come out of its cyclical crisis which has lasted for more than 3 years. In an effort to dampen the growing indignation of the broadest toiling masses which, as usual, were the first and main victims of this most lengthy and destructive economic crisis of the past 50 years and in order to gain political capital, some Western leaders generally paint in rosy colors optimistic pictures of the immediate economic future.

However, the symptoms of reviving business activity in the United States and some other Western countries are hardly able to pull the global capitalist economy out of the most serious difficulties which it has been experiencing since the mid-1970s. The profound contradictions within capitalist reproduction, which are at the base of such difficulties, remain, and as yet no visible solution to them in the immediate future is visible.

That is why the objective reasons for the current mass unemployment on an unparalleled scale remain. According to official data the overall number of people who are fully unemployed in the industrially developed capitalist countries increased from 6.5 million in the mid-1960s to 24.7 million in 1981 and some 30 million in 1982. Today they exceed 32 million. Since official statistics do not include some categories of "surplus people," the actual size of the army of unemployed is 45 to 50 percent bigger. In terms of absolute figures it has already exceeded the highest record in the history of capitalism, which was set in 1932, when the number of totally unemployed in the developed capitalist countries was some 24 million and, including the partially unemployed, nearly 30 million.

Furthermore, an entire series of structural factors determines the inevitable retention and even the possible increase in the size of the current multi-million strong army of the unemployed in the immediate future. This creates an unprecedented sociopolitical situation and presents the Western ruling circles with new, exceptionally difficult problems in the area of social maneuvering. New conditions are also developing in the struggle waged by the working class and the toiling intelligentsia for their vital interests and social progress and against the omnipotence of monopoly capital.

Naturally, unemployment is nothing new in the capitalist society. K. Marx proved that in order to ensure normal conditions for its growth, capital needs a permanently available reserve labor army, i.e., a certain segment of the overall manpower which should remain unemployed and at all times be handy should capital need to expand production. Two reasons explain the need for such a reserve under capitalist conditions. One of them is the anarchic moving of capital in chasing profits from one sector to another. In the course of this, worker layoffs in sectors abandoned by capital do not correspond quantitatively, qualitatively or territorially to their hiring in sectors into which this capital is poured. In order for such disproportions not to hinder the intersectorial flow of capital a certain available manpower reserve is necessary (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 647).

The other reason is the cyclical nature of the whole public production. During periods of decline capitalism "throws out" surplus manpower which does not bring it added value, as a result of which, consequently, unemployment rises. In periods of economic upswing, conversely, the need for manpower increases noticeably and the reserve labor army, as Marx described it, significantly shrinks. Any increase in production output in the aftermath of a crisis "is impossible without exploitation of accessible manpower and without increasing the number of workers regardless of absolute population growth" (ibid.). Furthermore, capitalism needs available manpower reserves over and above the level of the employed manpower on the eve of the latest crisis. Unemployment declines the moment the lowest point in production decline is over. This had always been the case, even during the "Great Depression" of 1929-1933.

Today things are different. During the period of the most profound global cyclical crisis of the postwar period, in 1974-1975, the level of unemployment (i.e., the percentage of totally unemployed manpower) in the 15 leading capitalist countries increased from 3.5 to 5.2. However, after these countries pulled out of the crisis the unemployment level, regardless of expectations, not only did not decline but increased from 5.3 percent in 1976 to 5.8 percent in 1980. After the new crisis broke out, this level began to increase even faster, reaching 7.1 percent in 1981 and 8.4 percent in 1982. Again let us point out that these are official, greatly minimized data.

Therefore, for almost a full decade an entirely unusual situation has prevailed on the labor market under state-monopoly capitalism. The specific feature of unemployment today is that, like inflation, it has become almost entirely unrelated to the dynamics of the economic cycle. Its level is rising steadily and is not declining even during periods of economic upswing. This new situation triggers a number of questions. First of all, how long will the current relative and absolute increase in the army of "surplus people" continue? Western forecasters claim that its growth will continue at least until the mid-1980s if not the beginning of the 1990s. But what then? Will there be a drop in the level of unemployment or will it establish itself on the present level? This will substantially affect the situation of the labor movement in countries under state-monopoly capitalism and the entire set of sociopolitical relations.

In order to understand future developments of this phenomenon its reasons must be made clear. They are several and are related to the profound changes in the public reproduction process which started in the mid-1970s as a result of the new crisis in the capitalist economic mechanism, the beginning of which can be traced to the end of the previous decade. This crisis is based on a significant increase in the level of production socialization after the war, particularly in the international area, and the profound changes in the public production structure. Both are caused essentially by the scientific and technical revolution and the further concentration of capital in the hands of the monopolies, the multinationals above all. The level of socialization reached and the structural changes mentioned require a more efficient and planned public production organization. This problem cannot be resolved by the uncontrolled market-competitive nor state-monopoly control systems in their present aspect.

On the surface, the crisis in the economic mechanism is manifested in the breakdown of the capitalist monetary system, drastic changes in interest rates and general instability on the global and national capitalist markets, unbalanced international accounts and, what is particularly important, an all-encompassing uncontrollable inflation which is urged on by the arms race in many capitalist countries. All of these circumstances have disturbed the normal capital reproduction conditions, lowered profit norms and increased the risk of long-term capital investments. As a result, the average annual growth rates of investments in productive capital in the seven Western leading countries--United States, Japan, FRG, France, Britain, Italy and Canada--dropped from 6.8 percent in 1967-1973 to 1.8 percent in 1974-1980. This has led to a longer slowdown in the pace of economic development and has inevitably hindered the growth of employment.

The Western ruling circles have no clear idea of how to pull the economy out of the squeeze of stagflation--a previously unknown treacherous combination of low rates of economic growth with high inflation. Under these circumstances the old Keynesian methods of state economic control turn out to be useless. In an effort to accelerate the pace of economic growth, the bourgeois governments intensify inflation which automatically increases interest rates and, consequently, raises the cost of credit and hinders new capitalist investments. The result, in the final account, is the opposite: a reduced growth rate. In fighting inflation, they deliberately increase interest rates, i.e., they suppress economic growth and increase unemployment. Based on the experience of the unsuccessful efforts made in recent years, the American economist L. (Tyurou) writes, "the following picture develops: the global (capitalist--the author) economy will in all likelihood remain mired in quicksand. Clearly, we shall be facing a further increase in unemployment and worsened financial difficulties, as has been the case over the past 3.5 years. There are definitely no features to indicate that the Western countries, either separately or together, have any kind of a program or even an approach which could change the situation radically."

Another important reason for today's severe unemployment is the protracted crisis which hit the textile, leather-shoe, clothing, shipbuilding, steel and, of late, automobile and some other old labor-intensive industries in the

United States, Western Europe and, to some extent, Japan. In the nine member countries of the EEC the number of people working in the textile, clothing and shoe industries declined by 2.9 million from 1961 through 1981. From 1979 to 1982 alone employment dropped by 17 percent in clothing, 19 percent in the shoe, 39 percent in the automobile and 47 percent in the metallurgical industries in the United States.

A number of these sectors are gradually moving from the developed capitalist countries to the young developing states. The Western press frequently accuses the latter of undermining the competitiveness of these sectors in the developed capitalist countries. Actually, the reason for production drops in these sectors in Western countries is declining profits, which have gone down so much that in recent decades they have turned out to be less profitable to private capital than the new science-intensive productions in the areas of electronics, aerospace, missiles, instrument manufacturing, and so on. That is why the entrepreneurs either abandon these sectors altogether, shifting their capital to new or, if remaining in one old sector or another, shift the production process itself to the developing countries where labor is far cheaper, for which reason profits can be quite high.

The former of these processes is developing at an increasing pace at the present stage and it is obvious that in the immediate future it will be playing a decisive role in the structural reorganization of the capitalist economy. This process began under the influence of the successes of the scientific and technical revolution as early as the 1960s and was expressed in the gradual shifting of the center of gravity from labor- to science-intensive production sectors, from physical to mental labor and from production to services, particularly in the area of information-gathering, storage and processing. This is paralleled by extensive changes in the cadre training system and, therefore, the need for the reorganization of the educational system and increased social costs for the training and retraining of production cadres. That is why initially the process developed slowly. However, under the circumstances of a decline in the general pace of economic growth and reduced capital profits, it began to accelerate in the natural course of events and is transferring at a faster pace into science-intensive sectors which offer the promise of substantial profits.

The bourgeois economists and politicians are reassuring the public by claiming that job losses in the old sectors will be more than compensated by the opening of new jobs in the young industrial sectors and the service industry. However, this is rather questionable, and even if we ignore the numerous problems related to retraining huge masses of working people who have spent dozens of years as metalworkers, textile workers, clothing workers, and so on, or territorial shifting of workers from some parts of the country to others where the new sectors are deployed, another rather important aspect remains: the fact that capital, which makes use of technical innovations, as Marx wrote, "changes its skin...and is reborn under a technically advanced aspect in which the lesser amount of labor suffices to bring into motion a greater mass of machines and raw materials. It is self-evident that the inevitable consequent absolute decline in demand for labor increases the more capital engages in this renovation process..." (op. cit., vol 23, p 642).

For this reason the active transfer of capital to science-intensive sectors, practiced today essentially by the large concerns, is paralleled by the reduction in the demand for manpower per unit of permanent capital. Consequently, the total number of "surplus people," at least during the first stage of the structural reorganization in industry (which may take a long time) will increase rather than diminish. Therefore, it is quite likely that structural unemployment may threaten to become chronic.

Such a likelihood is increased by the third reason, i.e., the fact that the reorganization of the sectorial structure in the Western economy and the crisis of the socialist economic mechanism have coincided with the beginning of profound changes in technology based on the phenomenal successes of microelectronics, laser technology, fiber optics, gene engineering and a number of other trends in scientific and technical developments. These achievements have already snowballed into practical innovations in industry and in communications and management systems. Essentially, it is a question of a new stage in the scientific and technical revolution which, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov pointed out, "promises a technological change in a number of production areas." According to some futurologists, this change is comparable to the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries.

From the viewpoint of the social problems considered here, the possibilities which the new stage in the scientific and technical revolution offers in the field of production automation and management with the help of computers and electronic robots become particularly important. Each one of them replaces dozens and hundreds of skilled and highly paid workers. This leads to a sharp increase in labor productivity and, frequently, production quality. The result is a new upswing in capitalist profits. According to the management of Fiat, the Italian automotive company, over the next decade sensor robots will reduce manpower requirements by 90 percent. The American economist E. Osborne believes that robots will eventually bring about the elimination of assembly-line jobs. Automobiles, washing machines, television sets and other complex items, including the manufacturing of robots themselves, will, in his view, be manufactured automatically. Other Western specialists in automation have estimated that overall and in principle robots could replace from 65 to 75 percent of the entire manpower at processing industry enterprises.

Naturally, the actual substitution of robots for people is based not only on the technical possibilities of such automatic machines but the correlation between maintenance and units of output: if they are lower in the use of robots compared to the use of skilled workers, the problem is resolved in favor of the electronic competitor. In assessing the economic expediency, competition on the domestic and international marketplaces is also taken into consideration. We must bear in mind that employers in less-developed industrial countries, not to mention the developing states (Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, etc.,) have far lower wage outlays than in the United States. Already now the foreign suppliers have captured 18 percent of the internal American steel market, 28 percent of its automobile market and 65 percent of its household electrical engineering market. In order to be able to withstand the competition, the overseas industrialists are doing everything possible to lower their own costs, above all by reducing the volume of

skilled blue- and white-collar workers. This is also practiced by capitalists in other Western countries.

Actually, the robots offer another major sociopolitical advantage compared to the use of blue- and white-collar workers: they are totally obedient to the administration. They do not join trade unions, demand nothing and have no objection to merciless exploitation. As the American journal FUTURIST admitted, "Robots are the dream of the managers. They never take coffee or lunch breaks; they willingly work three 8-hour shifts daily; they do not object to unpleasant work and never take time for trade union meetings."

This clearly proves why production automation in the leading Western countries has coincided in time with the lengthy economic stagnation and the crisis in the old sectors, although from the engineering and technical viewpoint the problem of production computerization and the use of robots was resolved a long time before that. It was precisely the stagnation, aggravation of competition, intensification of protectionist trends and, consequently, profit declines that led private capital to engage in mass-scale technical retooling. For example, by 1985, according to the Americans, robots will replace 20 percent of the workers in the U.S. automobile industry; by 1988, 50 percent of all automobiles will be manufactured by automatic machines. Replacement of manpower by automatic machines will proceed at an increasingly faster pace. Therefore, capitalism is using the contemporary stage in the scientific and technical revolution for its selfish interests, as a result of which a significant percentage of the able-bodied population has turned into "surplus people."

Naturally, the use of new equipment leads to the development of new production sectors and, consequently, to increased employment. However, does this compensate for the jobs lost forever as a result of microelectronics? It is difficult as yet to answer this question simply. Experts at the OECD have reached the conclusion that the new industrial sectors will compensate for approximately 60 percent of the job losses. Even assuming that this assessment is correct, what will happen to the remaining 40 percent? We must also take into consideration that with the advancement of robotics "intelligent automatic machines" will become both less expensive and better. It is anticipated that over a 5-year period only--from 1981 to 1985--the average price of an industrial robot will drop from \$50,000 to \$35,800 and that their use instead of blue- and white-collar workers will become more profitable.

Nor should we forget that the use of robots in some sectors or countries will inevitably be extended to other sectors by virtue of the laws of competition, including services which, so far, served as a safety valve. According to the French Ministry of Finance, between 1978 and 1990 banks and insurance companies in that country will require 30 percent fewer employees than in the past to meet the current volume of operations. A similar situation is developing in trade, transportation and other service sectors. Like a chain reaction the process of the use of automatic machines will shift from the industrial centers of the world's capitalist economy to its periphery, throwing workers out on the street. "It is becoming increasingly clear that imperialism is unable to cope with the social consequences of a scientific and

technical revolution of unparalleled depth and scale, in the course of which millions and millions of working people are doomed to unemployment and poverty," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov noted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The fourth factor--demography--also played a certain role in the creation of today's superunemployment, particularly in Western Europe. During the 1970s the generation born after World War II, when the birthrate rose considerably in a number of Western countries, reached the labor market. Furthermore, a strong influx of female labor has been noted in recent years. Thus, between 1970 and 1981 total manpower in OECD countries increased by 46.4 million people, two-thirds of whom were women. The reason for this, on the one hand, was technical progress--a decline in the types of jobs demanding heavy physical labor and an increase in jobs requiring merely the supervision of production processes. On the other, it was the consequence of declining family budgets, caused by endless inflation and unemployment.

The demographic factor led to the fact that in the 10 members of the EEC the work force has been increasing by 1 percent annually. Apparently, this situation will prevail until 1985, when the consequences of the postwar boom in the birthrate will begin to decline. This is not to say, however, that the level and scale of unemployment will decline as well. The accumulated reserve of "surplus people" will be so great that a stable economic growth in excess of 4 percent annually would be required to eliminate it. This, however, is unlikely. The latest projections of LINK, an international forecasting group, call for an average growth of the national product in the developed capitalist countries of approximately 2.2 percent between 1981 and 1988. "However satisfactory it may be, even in the best of cases the growth of the GNP will fall behind the rate seen in the industrial (capitalist--the author) world until ... 1973. All indications are that the good old days will not return in the foreseeable future," sadly noted FORTUNE, the journal of the American business circles.

The result is a tangle of socioeconomic problems which virtually exclude any "natural" decline in unemployment in the case of an economic revival or the termination of the effect of the demographic factor. According to Western experts, in order to prevent a further growth in the army of "surplus people" alone in the industrially developed capitalist countries, from 18 to 20 million new jobs should be made available by the end of the 1980s; in order to reduce its level down to the 1979 level, another 15 million jobs would be required. The reciprocally intensifying influence of the various causes of today's unemployment leads to the conclusion that it will remain on the current exceptionally high level for an indefinite period of time and that it may even increase. Even if the ruling Western circles succeed in coping with stagflation and increase the pace of economic growth in the future, the changes in the technical structure of capitalism, in the overall level of production automation and in the sectorial structure of the economy which would have taken place would be, in all likelihood, so great that a considerable percentage of today's superunemployment may become irreversible.

The fact that the present mass unemployment is no temporary phenomenon of a cyclical nature but a long-term problem reformulates a number of sociopolitical problems facing state-monopoly capitalism and substantially affects

relations among the countries belonging to this system and their foreign economic and international policies.

On the intraeconomic level, the problem today is essentially the following: how to find the necessary funds to support the huge mass of healthy and able-bodied people who make virtually no contribution to the creation of the national income? For today no longer 2 or 3 percent but almost one-tenth of the entire active population has been deprived of the possibility of engaging in socially useful labor. As long as the unemployment level was relatively low and the economy was expanding at a satisfactory pace, bourgeois society could afford to use a certain percentage of the national income for unemployment compensation, although such allocations were insignificant: for example, in 1970 they did not exceed 0.1 percent of the national income in the FRG, 0.4 percent in France, 0.2 percent in Italy and 0.8 percent in Belgium. It is true that under the pressure of the working people organized by the working class in trade unions, in Western European countries above all, a substantial increase in benefits for illness, old age, disability, and so on was achieved. By the mid-1970s, the overall amount of various social benefits paid in these countries averaged from 30 to 40 percent of the national income.

However, it would be erroneous to believe that all such benefits were paid exclusively out of entrepreneurial income, which contributes on an average no more than 30 to 40 percent of the total. Entrepreneurial contributions account for only 50 to 60 percent in countries with a powerful labor movement. The balance is covered by the working people themselves or by the state, i.e., in the final account, by the taxpayers, most of whom are, once again, working people. In other words, even in the best of times, private capital was not particularly generous and preferred to leave the toiling part of society, essentially, to fend for itself.

However, such a social insurance system would be able to function smoothly only if economic circumstances were good. Considering the deep and protracted crisis in the current situation, in the course of which the army of "surplus people" has tripled while state budget revenues have substantially declined in all Western countries, such a system would find itself in a difficult situation. The contributions made by the working people themselves to the social funds are declining as a result of unemployment, and real wages are dropping. As to the entrepreneurs, naturally, they are unwilling to increase their contribution to the social funds. Furthermore, in all Western countries big capital is pressuring the government further in an effort to gain tax benefits, claiming that the drop in profits caused by the crisis deprives private business of any incentive to make new capital investments and, consequently, hinders the solution of economic difficulties.

Under these circumstances, the governments are short of funds with which to pay unemployment benefits based on the norms which the trade unions were able to negotiate in the mid-1970s, after a stubborn fight. That is the reason why in virtually all capitalist countries, a trend is noted, on the one hand, toward making unemployment compensation more difficult to receive by shortening its duration (in the United States, for example, it has been

reduced to 13 weeks), and forcing the recipients to do a certain amount of public work. On the other hand, the authorities are trying to reallocate the overall volume of available social funds in favor of unemployment compensations by curtailing other types of social benefits (pensions in particular) or reducing allocations for education, health care, and so on.

Naturally, the United States and many other imperialist countries have a tremendous budget reserve--the cost of the arms race. Its reduction would substantially ease the unemployment problem two ways. The thus-freed funds could be immediately used as financial aid to the unemployed. The long-range plan, however, would be even more important. Invested in the civilian sectors of the economy, such funds could open millions of new jobs. As early as 1976 the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that an investment of \$1 billion opens 75,000 jobs in the war industry, 100,000 in construction, 112,000 in the production of consumer goods, 138,000 in health care and 187,000 in education. The association for unemployment problems in Lansing (Michigan) estimated that if the huge U.S. federal budget funds for the Pentagon were invested in civilian sectors, by 1982 no less than 3.5 million unemployed could be given jobs. Military expenditures, however, are the "sacred cows" which the bourgeois governments of the NATO countries do not dare to touch.

As a result, year after year and month after month the situation of the unemployed continues to worsen, bearing in mind that the unemployment aid they receive for a certain period of time (as a rule between 6 months and 1 year) is subsequently either curtailed or terminated. Gradually, the "prosperous society" becomes afflicted by mass poverty. In the United States the stratum of individuals subsisting below the official poverty level has been increasing steadily since 1978. By the middle of 1982 it already numbered 31.5 million (about 13.7 percent of the entire population). In the EEC countries their number has reached 30 million. "The entire society of prosperity is experiencing today a process of breakdown which affects everyone," the Italian newspaper PAESE SERA admitted.

The collapse of reformist illusions and the rising difficulties of increasingly broad social strata have created a rather difficult sociopolitical situation in a number of state-monopoly capitalist countries. The grapes of wrath are ripening among the masses of those thrown out of the factories, those considered unnecessary by society, the young people who see no prospects after graduation, and the millions of people who are still employed but are steadily threatened by the sword of Damocles, with at best a drop in salary and at worst with layoffs, within this many-faceted labor army. Sooner or later a social explosion may occur. "Today," wrote the London newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES, "it is no simple matter to realize the consequences of the high and ever-increasing unemployment level.... It has already become clear that the structural unemployment which we currently observe in the industrial countries (capitalism--the author) would require at best a planned review of the economic, social and domestic policies of these countries and could become, at worst, a major threat to their stability."

Therefore, the Western ruling circles face a dilemma: either find a possibility of redistributing the national income in order to take further steps

of a bourgeois-reformist nature with a view to the preservation of class peace or, scorning the danger of social conflicts, force the working people to tolerate a drastic worsening of their situation and lose the social gains of the 1950s and 1960s.

What are the steps which the ruling class, big monopoly capital above all, is taking in this connection? In all Western countries it is trying to make use of the adverse situation of the working people on the labor market in order to throw the organized working class as far back from its positions as possible. Actually, when hundreds or even thousands of people are competing on the labor market for each vacant job, the level of organization of the working people in their struggle against capitalism is necessarily weakened. Under circumstances of mass unemployment and a structural reorganization of the economy, the size of the trade unions and their militancy decline. The class enemy makes use of such favorable conditions in mounting its counter-offensive, which follows several directions: the monopolies try to weaken or even to eliminate entirely the trade unions if at all possible; they try to lower the real hourly wage of the working people; and they demand the government curtail its social budget and reduce various social benefits.

Naturally, the activeness of this capitalist counteroffensive varies from country to country in accordance with the correlation of class forces. The American monopolies, above all those which form the nucleus of the military and industrial complex, are in its leading ranks. Whereas during the 19th century they hired throat-cutters or private detectives to eliminate trade union activists physically, today they use the services of "consultants" who advise them in the areas of jurisprudence, social psychology and propaganda aimed at undermining the trade union from within. Studies have indicated that the results of such consultations are quite tangible. In voting on whether or not to unionize one enterprise or another, the American workers favored unionizing in 73 out of 100 cases in 1950 and only 46 in 1980. The Western European trade union movement as well is experiencing difficulties. Enterprise administrations set the young in particular against the trade unions, with insinuations that the latter allegedly defend exclusively the interests of the employed, while remaining unconcerned with those outside the gates of factories and plants.

A sharp struggle has developed in Western countries on the subject of the governments' social policies. Monopoly capitalists persistently call for cuts in social expenditures, which they see as the cause of their lowered profits, on the one hand, and government budget deficits, which increase inflation and interest rates and hinder investments, on the other. The democratic public justifiably emphasizes that under circumstances of a drastic worsening of the living conditions of the working people, conversely, social outlays should be increased by lowering military appropriations.

This argument, which spills out of the press into the very thick of domestic policy, is turning into a basic election issue. Monopoly capital is doing everything possible to steer governments to the right and succeeds in a number of cases. A substantial turn to the right has been made in recent

years, as we know, in the United States, Great Britain, the FRG, Japan and many other countries. This has initiated a curtailment of social programs. During the 1981-82 fiscal year alone the United States either abolished or cut 250 such programs, particularly aimed at helping the poorest population strata. Government allocations for health care, education and social benefits have been substantially curtailed in Britain under conservative rule. Similar trends may be noted in Japan, the FRG, Belgium and other countries.

Some steps are taken to increase state outlays for social needs, increasing some benefits, and so on, wherever the parliamentary struggle brings about the victory of left-wing forces, as has been the case in France, Greece and Spain. The most far-sighted members of ruling Western circles realize the need for greater social reforms involving the duration of the work week, lowering the retirement age, making quality improvements in the training of the young generation and retraining victims of the structural reorganization of the economy and, above all, the need for a change in the system of redistribution of the national income in order to finance all of these objectively existing social outlays.

The tense sociopolitical situation in countries ruled by state-monopoly capital has considerably worsened their interrelationship. Unable to revive the national economy and reduce the size of the army of "surplus people," the ruling circles in these countries are increasingly resorting to efforts to shift their own difficulties to other countries by increasing exports. In turn, this triggers a trend toward increased protectionism. Fierce "steel," automobile and other trade wars have been waged in recent years among the United States, Western Europe and Japan. No summit agreements reached at "Big 7" meetings, including the latest, which was held in Williamsburg, are able to stop this trend. The further sliding toward protectionism could, in the final account, lead to a general tariff war, like that in the 1930s, which would delay the possibility of pulling out of the economic stagnation even further.

In addition to its economic aspects, this trend includes an important ideological feature. In the hope of drawing the attention of the working people away from the true reasons for the current economic and social crisis, the individual governments keep assuring the population that foreign competition is largely the reason for the inability to put an end to mass unemployment and other economic difficulties.

Yet another aspect of the ideological indoctrination of the masses in a number of NATO countries is noteworthy: The frantic anticommunist propaganda frightening the people with the "Soviet threat" and intensifying international tension. Whenever the ruling circles lack arguments with which to justify their antipeople's economic and reactionary social policies, they encourage a military psychosis in order to distract the public. Is this not the reason for the turn from detente to a new cold war in the citadels of imperialism which took place soon after the outbreak of the current crisis in the socioeconomic situation in the West? This may not be the only reason for such a turn, but it is certainly one of the basic ones.

However, neither the objective worsening of the struggle nor the assumption of power by the right wing in a number of countries, the weakening of the trade unions or the attempts on the part of the ruling circles to draw the attention of the working people away from domestic and toward foreign political problems can stop the increasing tension of the class battles in capitalist countries. Whereas between 1960 and 1969 an average of 36.7 million people annually took part in strikes, political or national, their number reached 51.1 million between 1970 and 1979. In recent years the working people have been changing their tactics and forms of struggle as they adapt to the new economic and political conditions. Although the number of conventional economic strikes has declined somewhat, their mass actions are increasingly taking place under political slogans. "The unemployment problem cannot be resolved separately from other most important socioeconomic problems," stipulates the Basic Document of the 10th World Congress of Trade Unions, which was held in Havana in February of 1982. "That is why, in their struggle against closing down enterprises and layoffs, the trade unions are formulating programs for socioeconomic development which call for limiting the power of the monopolies, reducing military expenditures and converting them to peaceful industrial development."

The increasingly close interweaving of the actions of the proletariat taken against unemployment and the social counteroffensive of the monopolies, on the one hand, and the unprecedented scale of the movement against the arms race and for the freezing of nuclear arsenals and the preservation of peace, on the other, have become new and important manifestations in the class struggle. The combination of these two powerful trends strengthens the forces of progress in state-monopoly capitalist countries. The bankrupt society of "universal prosperity" is facing powerful social upheavals.

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## TRAGEDY OF MILLIONS; SOCIOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE FRG

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 83 (signed to press 22 Nov 83) pp 96-102

[Article by N. Izvolenskaya]

[Text] Mass unemployment is justifiably described as "Social Disease No. 1" in the capitalist society. In Lenin's words, the main trouble with capitalism is the result of the exploiting system and is the "necessary possession of the capitalist economy," without which the latter would be unable to exist (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 2, p 173). At the same time, unemployment itself, as a permanent operating factor in capitalist society, has a corroding and decaying action on it, intensifying its other incurable vices. During periods of intensified crisis processes in the capitalist economy, such as in the present, it is precisely the increased army of people who are deprived of the opportunity to work which is, on the one hand, a means which helps the monopoly leadership shift the main cost of economic difficulties to the broad toiling masses and, on the other, a strong ferment for the further growth of class antagonisms, which contribute to the ripening of the sociopolitical crisis. Such is the typically capitalist dialectics of the social process which is assuming particularly clear and distorted aspects at the present stage of aggravation and intensification of all contradictions within the private ownership system.

Statistical figures indicate that in recent years the unemployment curve in the capitalist countries has been steadily sliding upwards. "The growing ranks of rejected," of "surplus people of the 20th century," make a "swamp, pulling out of which is difficult." Such descriptions frequently appear in newspapers and journals in describing the situation of at least 10 percent of the working people in the capitalist world. The mass information media are recording increasing waves of collective layoffs, stoppages or elimination of entire production lines and closing down of enterprises. The television screens show crowds of people standing outside the gates of factories and plants and long lines at labor exchanges. One can clearly feel the tension and fear of the future, also confirmed by the sad stories told to the journalists, revealing despair or anger at such misfortunes which have befallen the people.

Not so long ago the defenders of capitalism loudly proclaimed that "full employment" had become an inseparable feature of the so-called Western way of life. "The policy of high and permanent employment is the main task of the Western world," insisted E. Preiser, the bourgeois West German researcher,

ignoring the actual policies of the ruling circles interested in the existence of a reserve labor army, in his book "Economic Policy Today." He claimed that in the FRG, as in other Western countries, not only had "full employment" been achieved but that there even existed a kind of "superemployment," leading to the totally unsubstantiated conclusion concerning the ability of contemporary capitalism totally to surmount the unemployment phenomenon and to offer a job to anyone willing and able to work.

According to official data, today there are 2.4 million unemployed in the FRG, i.e., 9.2 percent of the active population. In other words, the unemployment level here, as in other capitalist countries, has reached its highest mark of the entire postwar period. However, even this figure does not show the full picture. According to unofficial data cited in "Memorandum-83," which was issued by a group of scientists, trade union activists and parliamentarians in April 1983, there are 3.8 million unemployed in the country or 16 percent of the entire active population. The authors of the "Memorandum" project an increase of this figure to the 4 million level by the end of the year.

To this day most bourgeois economists are claiming that the sharp rise in unemployment is a temporary phenomenon. With the help of various tricks, figure manipulations and isolated examples, the defenders of capitalism are trying to exonerate the capitalist system for the existing situation. The bourgeois ideologues explain increased unemployment as a result of "adverse developments of circumstances," "worsened market situation," and production reorganization rather than the objective laws of the capitalist production method. Arguments of a psychological nature are also used, such as the refusal of a certain segment of the population to engage in "nonprestigious work," the unwillingness of others to hold any job, being inclined toward laziness, and so on. Only isolated, soberly thinking bourgeois analysts find in themselves the courage for properly assessing the situation and admitting that independently of one shift in production circumstances or another, such a high level of unemployment will remain at least until the end of the century, for it is largely caused and supported by structural changes in the development of production forces, in which priority is assumed by technologically and intellectually intensive sectors and further production automation.

Ever-new crimes against humanity and humaneness are added to the innumerable crimes of capitalism. In the FRG, as in other economically advanced capitalist countries, the gains of the scientific and technical revolution have been put in the service of the "knights of profits," and used in the interest of fierce pursuit of profit. The use of robots and computers, the achievements of electronics, the new technology, the advancement of means of communications, transportation and production organization and management are turning into a disaster for a number of people, for they are simply being thrown out on the street. Here is a single example: for each new job created in the FRG as a result of the production of microprocessors, five jobs are lost in the industrial and administrative sectors. Machines are pushing people out. Automation and new production facilities are eliminating jobs. Members of previously widespread professions and skilled workers, employees and engineering and technical personnel are becoming "unnecessary."

No less relevant today is what Marx said more than a century ago: "Something rotten must exist in the very heart of a social system which increases its wealth without, however, reducing poverty..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 13, p 515).

The increased percentage of the able-bodied population which is deprived of the possibility of participating in socially useful labor and is unable to sell its manpower and, consequently, is being deprived of its means of existence step by step, is one of the most convincing proofs of the historical doom of capitalism and its organic inability to guarantee basic human rights. Labor--the final source and creator of the social wealth, one of the greatest values of society--is being increasingly neglected. The inevitable consequence of separating from purposeful work millions and millions of people results in a break in a number of social and human relations, not only in the course of the production process, but on the wider social level as well; contacts among individuals are disturbed and subsequently terminated; family relations are affected and families break up. The lack of spirituality in society intensifies further.

The number of people experiencing material hardships, without roofs, roaming the roads in search of work and housing, is growing. In West Germany some 100,000 so-called "unsettled individuals" move from place to place in the vain hope of landing even an incidental job. They are scornfully referred to as "vagrants" or "transients." The conclusion reached by the Koln Institute of Sociological Research is that more than 4 million FRG citizens are wasting away under conditions incompatible with the concept of "human dignity."

Militant feelings are increasing among a considerable segment of the unemployed. They lead to greater militancy on the part of the mass organizations of the working people, strikes and clear manifestations of class solidarity on the national and international scale. However, senseless and groundless actions, outbreaks of purposeless antisocial aggressiveness and increased criminality may be frequently noted among politically backward groups of the toiling population, the young people in particular. A total of 4.3 million violations of the law were recorded in the FRG in 1982, or 5.4 percent more than in 1981.

A noticeable energizing of various revanchist and terrorist groups confirms the growing danger of the restoration of right-wing political extremism in a mass form. In 1982 right-wing extremists in the FRG committed more than 2,000 felony crimes, 69 percent of which were of a neo-Nazi nature (six of the 64 acts of violence were murders). A considerable percentage of terrorists, as statistics indicate, are graduates of secondary and higher schools who, unable to find jobs, lose all hope for the future.

Unemployment and the lack of any possibility of jobs lead to the fact that a number of despairing people seek means to lose themselves, to drop out of a reality which holds no promise. They increasingly resort to drugs and alcohol. In 1982 there were 80,000 drug addicts and 1.2 million victims of alcoholism in the FRG. The overall incidence of mental illness has increased.

Therefore, the social destabilization of a significant share of the population, increased crime rate, terrorism, drug addiction, alcoholism, mental disturbances and domestic tragedies are the striking inevitable companions of unemployment and its sociopsychological consequences, closely related to economic consequences. "It is a question," says O. Loderer, former president of the Metalworkers Trade Union, "not only of tremendous material losses such as the vanishing of the most important production force--human labor. It is a question not only of the reduced living standards of the unemployed and their families.... It is a question of harming the self-awareness, the mentality of the person, of harming his dignity."

As to the upper crust of the bourgeois society, as was to be expected it remains indifferent to the fate of those who have "fallen under the wheels" of life, of those who were "unlucky." As Lenin wrote, "the masters of the capitalist state are as unconcerned with the mass victims of unemployment as is a locomotive engine running over people" (op. cit., vol 5, p 324).

Let us consider the condition of an individual who has suddenly "been thrown overboard" from his ordinary labor life. His world crumbles and so do his ideas of a successful life. The person no longer has a place where he can apply his professional knowledge and display his capabilities. He is simply deprived of the opportunity of experiencing the satisfaction from labor results. He loses his feeling of usefulness. His life becomes worrisome, insecure and unstable. Step by step, relations with his former fellow workers break off as do links with trade unions and other organizations; relations within the family and among relatives and friends worsen. Such a person finds himself in a "vacuum."

DIE WARHEIT, the West Berlin communist newspaper, published excerpts from a sociopsychological study conducted by a number of scientists and published in Brussels, the headquarters of the EEC. "The unemployed suffer from the breakdown of their lives even more strongly as a result of their feeling of isolation," the documents reads. "They are unable to unburden themselves. They avoid discussing their problems with others. Thrown out on the street, they not only feel alone but in fact find themselves in an "airless space." The feeling of loneliness is directly proportional to the length of unemployment." The hired worker who has lost his job, note the progressive West German researchers I. Goldberg, B. Guter and H. Jung, are on the other side of "bourgeois paradise."

Naturally, the speed and the manner in which a person will adapt to his new situation, the activeness with which he will be able to fight the misfortunes which have befallen him depend on the person, on his type of life, family, skill, age, profession, health, and so on. This also affects the means he will choose: acceptance, thoughtless protest or struggle. The initial reaction, as a rule, is the same: the person feels useless, unneeded.... A survey has shown that approximately one-third of the unemployed consider themselves people who have "lost all value to society;" 46 percent assume that this society does not consider them "valuable."

Lengthy unemployment leads not only to the loss of qualifications, production habits and skills, but to a deformation of the personality, paralleled by a

drop in the life quality. Medical studies and psychological examinations have led to the conclusion that as a rule the general condition of the unemployed is characterized by the following features: emotional imbalance irritability, disappointment, bitterness, fear, moral decline and loss of faith in values; indifference, fatalism, rigidity, spiritual trauma, panic, and so on.

The Brussels study points out that 33 percent of the unemployed surveyed unhesitatingly said that their health had worsened substantially. Objective studies do not contradict this figure. They point out, in particular, that most of the practically healthy people, after losing their jobs, begin to feel physical symptoms such as neuroses, circulatory disturbances, higher blood pressure, and so on. All of this is the result of overstressed spiritual forces and an entire set of emotions related to unemployment.

"Unemployment makes a person sick." Such is the conclusion of psychologists and sociologists who met in Dusseldorf last April. "It damages the person's mentality and that of those around him, as well as those who are still employed, making them fear for their existence." The participants in the Dusseldorf meeting spoke of a threatening "mental impoverishment" of large population groups as a result of growing mass unemployment and related individual and social costs affecting the entire society. They pointed out that the only method of combatting unemployment is its elimination.

The people "rejected" by capitalist society belong to different social, professional and age categories. The sociopsychological consequences of unemployment affect particularly strongly some groups and strata, however: people over 50, the young, women and foreign workers.

The elderly, above all the unemployed over 55 years of age, who have neither the right to pension nor the opportunity for employment, find themselves in a very hard or almost helpless situation. Those who have conscientiously worked throughout their lives and have suddenly lost their jobs frequently interpret their situation as a cruel life failure. They are gripped by a feeling of hopelessness. "I have been cast aside like an old screen;" "Many people are asking themselves, is life worth living any longer?" is the way such people describe their situation.

More than 46 percent of all the unemployed in West Germany are under 30. Many of them have been unable to work even for a single day. Their careers start at the labor exchange. The West German journal QUICK writes that "Today the opportunity of having a good job is practically zero, for there are no jobs for production trainees. One out of two young people in the country lives in fear of the future." It is anticipated that by the end of 1983 approximately 270,000 young people will be looking for vocational training jobs. Enterprises are closing their doors also to graduated specialists and graduates of higher educational establishments. Most VUZ graduates are either waiting at the threshold of factories and plants or are holding jobs unrelated to their skills but inferior to their educational level. Between 1974 and 1979 the number of jobless university and college graduates tripled. In 1980, 10 percent of VUZ graduates failed to find a job.

As a result of looking for jobs a number of young people, like people of the senior generations, develop a feeling of alienation, of exclusion from society, a feeling of being unneeded and unsuitable. Unemployment among the young is one of the main reasons for the growing wave of suicides among young men and women. The number of suicides among them has been growing three times faster than the national average. There are some 200,000 unemployed young men and women under 20--the most unstable and impressionable age group. Even before they have begun to live, they become aware of the fact that they are unneeded by society. "Who will give them a proper political orientation?" write Yu. Pomorin and R. Junge in their book "The Neo-Nazis." They answer: "Not only the democratic youth unions. The neo-Nazis as well are ready to help with the false romanticism of campfires, the reborn cult of the Fuehrer and his obedient crowd, and antidemocratic slogans.... The old and new Nazis are crawling out of the woodwork...." There are some 80 active neo-Nazi groups in the country and 46 percent of neo-Nazis known by name are people under 20.

Women frequently become victims of unemployment. They are the last to be hired and the first to be fired. In the FRG women account for one-half of the total number of "surplus people," and 70 percent of the 600,000 unemployed office workers are women. These dry figures represent lost hope, broken futures and personal traumas. A woman deprived of her work loses sooner than a man the ground under her feet. This is because work is an important and necessary prerequisite for economic independence, surmounting social isolation and asserting equality in a society ruled by the laws of capitalism.

Under circumstances of increased living costs, when the working people are increasingly forced to skimp on items of prime necessity, refusing themselves even the most necessary things, the loss of work and unsuccessful search for employment create in the women a feeling of particularly aggravated fear of the future. Such concerns create a tense, a stressed atmosphere in the family. The number of divorces, mental breakdowns and child abuse cases is increasing.

The foreign--"guest"--workers are the first to become unemployed the moment a threat of a reduction in jobs develops. This is a special category of FRG residents. The petit bourgeois, not to mention the enterprise owner, considers them "second-class" people. It is precisely they who are the first to experience the entire burden of economic upheavals. Those among them who have jobs are employed in the most labor-intensive and health-harming production, physically hard and stupefying operations at minimal wages. They hold the most "unprestigious" and unattractive jobs.

The overwhelming majority of immigrants--most of whom come from Turkey--are either undertrained or totally untrained. Having come in search of employment in the FRG, driven by need at home, many of them have no permanent address and are forced to agree to taking any kind of a job at any kind of a salary. They are paid significantly less than FRG citizens and the entrepreneurs are least concerned with their labor safety (which results in frequent accidents). The foreign workers are forced to tolerate unsatisfactory

housing conditions, huddling in premises unsuitable for living. Their children are deprived of the opportunity of obtaining skilled vocational training and are essentially used as auxiliary manpower. Added to social discrimination is political rightlessness. The rich, who are openly interested in promoting national and racial discord among working people, contribute to its aggravation. Foreign workers are subjected to real "psychoterror" and persecution. They live in an atmosphere of artificially enhanced hatred on the part of the more backward segment of the West German population. In 1982 the number of acts of terrorism committed against foreigners increased by 77 percent and totaled 566 cases.

Currently there are as many as 300,000 unemployed immigrants in the FRG. They are crowded into hostels in a fruitless expectation of obtaining any kind of work. Feelings of hopelessness, anger and indignation and tense relations based on nationality between them and the local population accompanied by openly racist actions and total hopelessness is the psychological climate in which this "reserve" of inexpensive manpower lives in one of the economically most developed capitalist countries.

The "captains of big business" and their political representatives are truly inexhaustible in the ways and means they find for threatening the working people and worsening their working conditions and their entire lives in circumstances of aggravated crisis. They resort to so-called "concerted actions," lockouts, closing down of enterprises, shortening work shifts, "profession bans," freezing and lowering of wages and a variety of concealed methods aimed at reducing the real income of the working people and eliminating their social gains and resorting to the notorious policy of the "red pencil," used to cut allocations for social needs, and so on. At the present stage priority in this arsenal is held by the blackmail of unemployment, which is used with a view to lowering the class activeness of the working people and intensifying their exploitation. The unemployed are forced to accept lower wages and transfers to areas requiring fewer skills with a corresponding decrease in wages. They are made to tolerate obvious violations of their rights established in the past on the basis of collective contracts achieved by the trade unions after long years of struggle, and violations of human dignity. "What rules in our country is the right of the entrepreneurs to act as they wish but not the right of a person to work," M. Fischer, one of the heads of a sectorial trade union in the FRG has said.

The capitalist offensive is answered by the increasing militant activeness of the working people, mainly on the part of members of the trade union movement. Strikes and work stoppages, picketing, occupation of enterprises the owners of which have proclaimed forthcoming mass layoffs and reports on militant actions on the part of the West German working class have become permanent press features. Meetings and demonstrations are being held under the slogans of "Work, Not Missiles," "Jobs for All," "We Demand the Opening of Trainee Jobs in Production," and "We Oppose Profession Bans," involving the participation of an increasingly broad circle of the toiling FRG people. Movements have been launched in favor the using of empty houses by homeless unemployed, for equality of women, in defense of the interests of foreign workers, and so on. Those described as standing "on the lowest step of the social ladder,"

i.e., the unemployed, convened with the help of 200 initiative groups the first "Congress of the Unemployed" in the history of the West German labor movement, which was held last December in Frankfurt on the Main. The congress was held under the theme of "The Unemployed Are Not Helpless." The questions discussed included reasons for the "scandalous situation in employment, the struggle for the preservation of jobs, unemployment as a social calamity, and others. Civic initiative committees for the struggle against unemployment are being created throughout the country.

The FRG communists have formulated a broad program. They call for lowering the unbearable expenditures for military purposes, raising taxes on monopoly profits, using these funds for increasing unemployment benefits, opening new jobs, broadening the pension fund and implementing other social measures. "The right to work must be codified as the basic right of man in the constitution of the federal republic," the German Communist Party has stated. The communists emphasize that a democratic control must be organized over the activities of the monopolies. Mass layoffs must be forbidden and enterprise funds must be used for organizing a system of vocational and technical training and the implementation of other measures. However, the communists and the members of other progressive circles in West Germany fully realize that the elimination of the economic burdens experienced by the working people and the aggravated crises and elimination of unemployment are possible only as a result of radical social changes in the country's life, for the implementation of which they are waging a tireless struggle.

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## IN DEFENSE OF THE LIVING STANDARDS AND RIGHTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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pp 103-109

[Article by Akira Iwai, director of Japan's Institute of the International Workers Movement and laureate of the International Lenin Prize 'For Strengthening Peace Among Nations']

[Text] Article based on the speech of Japanese sociologist Akira Iwai at the plenary session of the international conferences on "Role and Place of the Trade Unions in the Contemporary World," held in Moscow in May 1983. The conference was attended by representatives of 118 countries and five international trade union organizations, who discussed the tasks and the rights of the working people and in the struggle for peace and international security.

The workers must wage their struggle under the difficult conditions of the international crisis which spread simultaneously throughout the capitalist world. Unemployment increased and inflation rose sharply as a result of reduced production and the economic decline. The struggle for higher wages has become more difficult. Social benefits have been curtailed and the well-being of the working people has worsened. Capitalism is applying heavy pressure on the rights and gains of the working people. All of this is why the worker movement in the capitalist countries is not yielding the desired results. As to that in Japan, in addition to everything else the supporters of conciliation and reconciliation with the system have become energized.

The economic depression facing the members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is rooted in the general crisis of capitalism. In Japan it is related directly to the petroleum crisis which shook up the country twice during the 1970s. The economic policy practiced by these countries after World War Two and the consequent overproduction, inflation, monetary deficits and the tremendous cost of armaments are undermining the economy of the capitalist countries and forcing them to enter a most active international competitive struggle, a struggle for survival.

In Western Europe and the United States, where the level of unemployment has exceeded the 10-percent mark and has remained on that level, under the conditions of stagflation the workers are fiercely fighting for the right to live and work. Positive examples are not lacking: the strikes of locomotive

engineers and air traffic controllers in the United States and the nurses in Great Britain, the general strikes of Italian workers for linking wages to the cost of living, the struggle of the South Korean textile workers for their rights and that of the workers in the Philippines, and so on.

What is the situation of the Japanese workers? The depression which struck the Japanese economy starting with the first energy crisis (1973-1974) is continuing. Monopoly capital is systematically engaged in promoting "rationalizations" in industry or, in other words, following a course of production cuts, laying off masses of workers and dumping surplus equipment. Capitalism is engaged in production concentration and trying to increase the competitiveness of export goods. The monopolies have secured their increased profits by suppressing with all their might the workers worn out by inflation and demanding wage increases. That is why the Japanese economy was able to stand on its feet before that of Europe and the United States.

The question of the struggle waged by the Japanese trade unions arises. Did they oppose layoffs and wage reductions or did they consider that increased competitiveness on the world market served equally the interests of the capitalist monopolies and the workers? In practice many trade unions in private enterprises working for export supported the policy of "rationalization" and layoffs. Whereas in 1973, before the energy crisis, there were 680,000 unemployed in Japan, today, 10 years later, there are 1,627,000. The monopolies violate the vital rights of the people and deprive them of jobs while praising the trade unions which support such conciliationist positions.

The trade unions in the private sector, such as those in the metallurgical, machine building, electrical engineering, chemical and other industries set up the "All-Japan Council of Trade Unions of Private Enterprises (Dzemmin Roke)" on 14 December 1982, which was welcomed by the monopolies. It consists of 49 sectorial trade unions with 4,790,000 members. Essentially, the purpose of this new organ in Japan's trade union movement is to act in a spirit of cooperation between labor and capital. It is obvious that such a course by a trade union movement prevents any opposition to further "rationalizations," exposing the predatory nature of capitalism.

That is why now, in the 1980s, the reorganization of the trade union movement in the country on a class basis is a prime task.

Today Japanese monopoly capital is concerned with surmounting the "soft spots" in the capitalist economy -- dealing with the energy problem, stagflation and financial deficits. At the same time, the government is taking purposeful administrative steps to intensify "rationalization" in an area affecting the interests of 4 million state and municipal enterprise and office employees -- a large detachment of Japanese working people which opposes the ruling circles and capitalist domination under the banner of the class-oriented labor movement. Japanese capitalism is trying to use the state and the local self-management organs and the industrial and other enterprises it owns to surmount the economic crisis, ignoring the interests of the working people.

Strikes by blue- and white-collar workers in state and municipal jobs are forbidden. This was established more than a third of a century ago, in 1948,

when by order of General McArthur, who was then ruling Japan, state employees lost this constitutional right. The situation has remained unchanged since.

Last autumn the government refused to raise the wages of state and municipal employees. The recommendations of the personnel council, which called for the need to compensate for losses caused by price increases, were ignored. The wage freeze of municipal employees lowered the real income of the retired as well. All in all, the elderly lost 1.7 trillion yen.

In this situation the task of our country's trade unions is to struggle against the government and the monopolies from consistent antimonopoly positions in defense of the living standards and rights of the entire toiling population.

Specifically, this must be expressed by, first of all, improving their living standards by raising their salaries and, secondly, insisting on improving their working conditions, above all ensuring their employment, and thirdly, increasing the rights of the workers and preventing their violation.

The success of the struggle waged against each individual monopoly for higher wages under inflationary conditions is determined by objective factors which largely depend on the ratio of forces and, essentially, the ratio between labor and capital. Mass unemployment and economic decline create beneficial conditions for the capitalists. The labor movement, however, has not formulated as yet an effective economic strategy for its economic struggle under the conditions of stagflation. Economic cooperation must be established for the study of this topical problem facing the labor movement.

The role of the state is increasing in Japan under the conditions of monopoly capitalism and the economic gains of the trade unions are reduced to naught as a result of high taxes, inflation and cuts in social benefits and education. The class nature of the state is becoming increasingly obvious. That is why serious attention must be paid to the political aspects of the struggle for upgrading the workers' living standards and increased rights. At this point, however, we are threatened by falling into reformism, for which reason the problems of the attitude toward the reform must be clarified and resolved jointly with the progressive political parties and cooperation with them must be organized.

If we are to believe the official statistics, unemployment in Japan, the level of which reached 2.72 percent in January 1983, was below that of the United States and Europe. For Japan, however, this is the highest level since 1955. Let us also bear in mind that it has been downgraded and is unrealistic, for the methods used there to determine unemployment are different. The actual unemployment figure in Japan is considerably higher and rising steadily. The number of "surplus people" in the OECD was estimated at 34 million, a figure comparable to the "great depression" of the 1930s. Today capitalism is forced to abandon its propaganda slogan of providing full employment, which was a good argument it used in its struggle against socialism. In Great Britain, where the misleading concept of the "general welfare state" was born, Prime Minister Thatcher no longer dares to refer to it.

Of late the problem of using industrial robots has caused a great deal of concern. The number of robots will be increased in Japanese industry, which already accounts for 70 percent of all robots in the world. Ten years ago the cost of a robot equalled the annual wages of seven workers, compared to only two today. At one point a conveyor belt in the electronics industry was serviced essentially by housewives, who were hired by the companies as part-time workers but in fact worked full time. Today robots are taking their jobs. This means that the number of women losing their part-time jobs is increasing.

Wage disparities between male and female wages in the individual enterprises and areas, and so on, are extremely great compared to the United States and the European countries. For example, a man will earn 100 yen compared to 60 yen by a woman and 40 by a temporary woman-worker all for the same job. It is precisely this type of economic structure that is the source of the super-profits earned by the Japanese monopolies. They are currently applying the same system in Southeast Asia. The multinational corporations are exploiting the local manpower and paying the lowest possible wages. In the hands of the monopolies it is precisely such a discriminatory differentiated approach that is becoming a weapon in dehumanizing the labor of the workers, and we must see to it that the struggle against inequality become the most important task of the antimonopoly movement. At the same time it is important for this struggle to become a real manifestation of solidarity with the peoples of the developing countries. So far this struggle has not been waged on a sufficiently conscious basis. As a whole, the material situation of the workers and the working people as a whole leaves a great deal to be desired.

The economic upsurge of the developed capitalist countries was the result of their predatory exploitation of the natural resources of the developing countries. The OPEC members were entirely justified in declaring an "oil war" on the advanced capitalist countries and calling for a new world trade order. To this day, however, international monopoly capital is continuing its exploitation of the natural resources and destroying the environment on a global scale. Even in the most developed capitalist countries the monopolies continued to pollute the environment with impunity for a long time. A nationwide struggle was started in Japan in the 1970s against environmental pollution, a struggle to the death. However, Japan's trade union made a grave error by restricting their struggle to their enterprises and refusing to support the nationwide movement. This is a problem awaiting its resolution.

In order to increase their pressure in the economic struggle and in defense of the rights already gained by the workers, Japan's trade unions must systematically counteract the "rationalization" which the capitalists are developing.

It is admissible to claim that the history of capitalist development is also the history of production rationalization and technical change. However, capitalist "rationalization" has always been to the detriment of the workers. The development of capitalism in Japan, a previously backward capitalist country, was accompanied by a fierce exploitation of workers and peasants. The current annual income of K. Matsusita, one of Japan's biggest capitalists, is 1.1 billion yen, compared to the average annual income of a skilled Japanese worker, which does not exceed 3.5 million. This means that Matsusita's daily income equals the annual earnings of one worker. This disparity is

caused by the principle of private ownership itself and worsened by increased exploitation consequent to the development of production "rationalization."

The purpose of our struggle against such capitalist-style rationalization is to open the eyes of the workers in the course of this struggle to the mechanism of domination and exploitation and raise anticapitalist and socialist awareness to a higher level. We reject the idea of trade union participation in capitalist production management, which is an illusion.

Having sensed that profits in its own country were approaching their ceiling, Japanese monopoly capital launched into major foreign investments and is accelerating "corporate multinationalization." Thus, for instance, in 1981 capital investments abroad totalled \$8.9 billion. By the end of the 1970s Japan's total foreign investments had reached \$36.5 billion, which put the country into fourth place in the world. As a result of capital exports many textile, ore extraction and chemical industry enterprises in Japan itself closed down and a considerable number of workers were laid off. The harm caused to the economy of those countries which find themselves involved in the expansionary process of the multinational corporations is equally immeasurable. The struggle against multinational corporations is a strategic task facing the class-oriented labor movement.

The fight against war and for peace, against atomic weapons and for international disarmament and the elimination of hotbeds of war and the threat of war, naturally, within Japan itself, is an important task facing the Japanese trade unions under the circumstances of the general crisis of capitalism.

The threat of war comes from the capitalist system. We are against war. War today would inevitably become nuclear, and any war is fraught today with the threat of the total annihilation of mankind. We oppose the false propaganda of the Japanese government, the Liberal Democratic Party and the big capitalists who have taken up U.S. President Reagan's myth of the "Soviet threat." We regret that the second special UN General Assembly disarmament session failed to yield the expected results. We still wish with all our hearts for the Soviet-American talks on limiting medium-range nuclear armaments and other disarmament talks to achieve their purpose and for peace to reign on earth.

As we know, the Japanese -- the only people to experience twice the horror of nuclear bombing -- initiated the movement for banning atomic and nuclear weapons and launched a nationwide struggle for the elimination of nuclear weapons. The Japanese people passionately yearn for peace and reject war. They try to promote disarmament and prevent a nuclear catastrophe. A symbolic "grass root movement" is spreading throughout Japan and holding mass meetings "For Peace and Against Nuclear War," attended by 200,000, 400,000 or even 500,000 people. Unfortunately, however, Japan remains short of experience in organizing mass democratic movements. The "grass root movement" as well is acutely short of efficient activists. Supported by its organization, the class labor movement should help to correct the shortcomings of the movement. This is its urgent task.

Although we want never again to be the victims of a nuclear strike, we must do everything in our power not to find ourselves in the role of criminals. The

Japanese monopolies are increasingly building nuclear power plants, as the way to make up the energy shortage, which is the Achilles' heel of the Japanese economy. Japan is already second to the United States in the number of operating nuclear power plants. Our science, however, does not as yet guarantee their safe operation. The intention of the Japanese monopolies to discard the waste of nuclear power plants into Micronesian waters has caused a powerful objection by the neighboring countries. Without wishing it, the Japanese people are thus turning into nuclear killers. We must not encourage such hegemonistic arrogance.

After Japan's defeat in its thoughtless aggressive war, it was given its present peaceful constitution in 1947. Its preamble stipulates that the actions of the government must never lead the country into the tragedy of war and that the Japanese people are fully resolved to maintain their security on the basis of the justice of the peace-loving nations in the world. The constitution expresses the conviction that the peoples of the world have an equal right to a peaceful life without fear or want. Today, as mankind faces the threat of nuclear war, we would like to make the meaning and spirit of these stipulations of Japan's constitution familiar to all people on earth.

We acquired our constitution only after experiencing the horrors of war. In intensifying our struggle against war and for peace, against nuclear armaments and for disarmament, we would like above all to express our solidarity with the peoples of Asia who, naturally, feel no hatred for the Japanese. We are in favor of solidarity with the world proletariat fighting the forces of imperialism which are provoking wars and, naturally, support greater solidarity with the movement for a lasting peace, headed by the peoples of the socialist states, who consider a lasting peace their main task.

Intensifying the class nature of the labor movement is the topical task facing the Japanese trade unions.

Faced with the crisis of the ruling system, the government and the monopolies are doing everything possible to uproot entirely the class consciousness from the minds of the workers. Japan's entrepreneurial association (Nikkeiren), for example, claims that allegedly no class antagonisms exist in Japan. It supports this claim with the following argument: One out of seven managers of Japan's enterprises comes from a trade union organization. This association tirelessly repeats that relations between labor and capital are not antagonistic, that capitalists and workers are allegedly "partners in production," and that the development of the enterprises leads to better life for the workers. Under the circumstances of the depression which has been dragging on since 1975, this propaganda is being disseminated among the workers and is frequently taken up by the management of the trade union organizations. This undermines trade union unity and leads to the sway of the capitalist stooges in the their leading organs, while many honest trade union leaders find themselves isolated. It is entirely natural that as a result of such a course the labor movement must apply all efforts to strengthen its ranks and take a clear course of struggle against capitalism. In this respect the aid and assistance of the political party of the working class are extremely needed.

We must particularly emphasize the importance of this situation now, when the reaction is steadily resorting to all sorts of traps to weaken the class nature of the Socialist Party of Japan. Under these circumstances, the true socialists remain loyal to their principles, strengthen their solidarity with the trade union leaders and gain the support of the broad masses.

The General Council of Trade Unions (SOHIO) has waged the most powerful struggle against the government and the monopolies, standing on class positions. However, over a long period of time the government and the monopolies mounted continuing, systematic and consistent attacks on SOHIO and resorted to a variety of machinations to force it to change its policies. This has cast a doubt on the leading role of SOHIO which, in postwar Japan, has always held the center of the struggle for peace and democracy, for enhancing the living standards of the working people and defending their rights.

The history of the world labor movement, including that of prewar Japan, teaches us that we must not delay the creation of a united socialist and communist front. Such a front is necessary in order to counteract the authorities and the monopolies, whose policies, under the conditions of the crisis, has become even more reactionary. We, in Japan, will steadily strive for the establishment of such a united front, and we also believe that a similar situation has arisen in the developed European capitalist countries.

Let me also emphasize that the working class, which is struggling against capitalism as a social system, is hopeful that the unity and cohesion among the socialist countries will continue to strengthen and that their prestige will continue to grow.

International solidarity among workers and all working people is particularly important today. It is entirely clear that President Reagan's reactionary policy of war preparations and the arms race are hurling the world back to the cold war and driving humanity to the brink of war. The economic depression in the capitalist world is also worsening. In preaching the idea of "limited" nuclear war and interference in the affairs of the developing countries, the American imperialists are building nuclear bases on Japanese territory and in Europe, in order to close the chain around the Soviet Union. They are hysterically shrieking for economic "sanctions" against the Soviet Union.

That is why today the working people the world over must strengthen even further their cohesion and develop extensive activities so that nuclear weapons be eliminated and all kind of armaments, including conventional, be reduced. The workers in the capitalist, socialist and developing countries must strengthen their cohesion. This has never been more vitally important than it is now. The key to the solution of the problems of the world labor movement is strengthening its cohesion in the struggle against the arms race.

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## TEHERAN'S HISTORIC LESSONS

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[Article by V. Nekrasov]

[Text] Coincidentally, during the present difficult and tense period in contemporary history, when the adventuristic course of reactionary imperialist circles is threatening the future of all mankind, notable anniversaries become living reminders of the most important landmarks of the heroic struggle which, 4 decades ago, allied with the other forces of democracy and progress, the Soviet people waged to save the world from fascist barbarism. It is as though invisible threads link the past to the present. They not only help us to clarify better the meaning and significance of 40-year-old events but also shed light on new facets of current ones and help us to separate more clearly what is primary from secondary and transient from permanent facts, giving to our sight a kind of stereoscopic quality.

The year 1943 was a year of greatest military victories by the Soviet Union in its confrontation with fascist Germany and its allies. After their victory at Stalingrad, the Soviet forces seized the strategic initiative which they never let go until the enemy was totally routed. The Kursk battle firmly consolidated the radical turn in the course of World War Two. The Hitlerite hopes of stabilizing the front line were definitively dashed in the battle for the Dnepr. Irrepressibly advancing to the west, by the end of the year the Red Army had cleared from the occupation forces more than half of the Soviet territory taken by the enemy. The strategic situation at the other theaters of operation were also changing in favor of the allies under the influence of the Soviet victories. The fascist block, from which Italy was knocked out, began to crumble. The national liberation struggle of the peoples in the occupied countries intensified. Finally, the military successes were suitably crowned on the political level at the Teheran conference of the heads of the three leading members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition: the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain.

The combat alliance among the countries and peoples fighting the aggressive bloc of Hitlerite Germany, fascist Italy, militaristic Japan and their satellites took more than a few days or months to develop. The alliance acquired its full antifascist nature only after the Soviet Union had entered the war. The 1 January 1942 UN Declaration, which was signed by a large

number of countries belonging to different economic and social systems, the liberation targets stipulated in that document and the obligation they assumed of cooperating with each other and making no separate peace with the common enemy contributed to the further cohesion of the coalition. The Teheran conference, which was the first meeting of the heads of the main powers of the wartime coalition -- J. V. Stalin, F. D. Roosevelt and W. Churchill -- proved the willingness and ability of the three countries to agree, despite the difficult wartime conditions and substantial and even basic differences, on basic problems, such as the means leading to a definitive victory and laying the foundations of a postwar political settlement.

The very fact of the successful holding of the conference was a major accomplishment in the area of relations among the allies which, until then, had been neither simple nor easy. At the same time, "the atmosphere of friendship and unity," which prevailed at the meeting, as acknowledged by the participants, and which helped to seek and find mutually acceptable solutions to moot points, was of major importance to the further course of events.

As to the Soviet Union, none of the conference decisions conflicted with the fundamental principles of its foreign policy. Guided by the objectives of securing the basic interests of the USSR, the international working class and all exploited and oppressed peoples on earth, the Soviet side had waged a consistent and persistent struggle for collective security and the prevention of aggression before the war. It was not the fault of the USSR that the creation of a system of collective security during the 1930s, which could have prevented a world war, did...place; it was a result of a policy of conspiracy with Hitlerite Germany pursued by the reactionary circles in the West.

The political course taken by Great Britain and the United States was a different matter. To the ruling circles of these countries which on the eve of the war had pursued the policy of the notorious "Munich conspiracy" with the aggressor, aimed against the homeland of the October Revolution, and were unwilling to reach an understanding with Moscow, the conversion during the war to active combat interaction with the Soviet Union was a major, although largely forced, political turn, which marked the victory of common sense gained as a result of the harsh lessons they had learned. A number of factors played a role in this turn, above all the sobering impact of the catastrophic defeats suffered by them during the initial stages of the war and the collapse of a number of countries, including a great power such as France, on the one hand, and, on the other, the growing efforts of the people's masses in the anti-Hitlerite coalition in support of comprehensive cooperation with the land of the soviets, which was bearing the main burden in the struggle against fascism and making a decisive contribution to it and, finally, as time passed, the realization of the impossibility for the United States and England to impose their conditions on the socialist state, whose victories were radically changing the strategic and military-political situation in the world.

Naturally, a certain farsightedness and statesmanlike approach displayed by the leaders of the two major Western countries at a crucial historical moment had a major effect. Despite their own likes and dislikes and, naturally, without giving up on efforts to extract unilateral advantages from the talks, they nevertheless found in themselves the strength to go beyond their class

hostility toward the socialist state, reach mutually acceptable accords and, later, to work for a joint victory over fascist barbarism. This wrecked the hopes of the Third Reich's leadership for a class split in the ranks of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. It was particularly noteworthy that the possibilities of cooperation among countries with different social systems for the sake of the higher interests of mankind were tested not in the silence of offices or at diplomatic talks but in the crucible of a fierce battle. This fact can be neither deleted nor obscured by the new postwar turn in the policies of the leading capitalist countries, which led the world into the trenches of the cold war.

The Teheran conference opened the way to subsequent Yalta and Potsdam inter-allied meetings of the "big three." The joint decisions made at these meetings directly affected a number of areas in the postwar development of international relations. The United Nations Organization, which today plays such an important role in maintaining world peace and counteracting the aggressive imperialist aspirations, was an offspring of these decisions. To this day the beneficial impact of these decisions may be traced in a number of treaties, agreements and other international documents dealing with specific problems. Thirty years later, their conclusions were the foundation of the main ideas included in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Sharp debates on the wartime allied agreements and their significance continue unabated in the West. Those who today dispute and try to present in a false light the agreements reached by the wartime allies are either ignoring the lessons of World War Two or would like to revise its results. Such critics frequently cut across and ignore historical realities which, however, are that the peoples have been able to avoid a new global conflict, which has been steadily visible on the horizon during all those years, largely thanks to the principle-minded decisions related to postwar settlements and to securing a durable peace, decisions which were made during the interallied 1943 and 1945 conferences.

## I

The lasting significance of the Teheran decisions, as they appear today, 40 years later and under circumstances of a drastically worsened threat to peace and the very existence of mankind, lies above all in the fact that they were able to surmount the barriers of alienation in the relations among the three great powers belonging to different social systems for the sake of attaining humanitarian and universal targets. The tripartite coordination of military plans, achieved for the first time during World War Two, considerably hastened its end and thus preserved many thousands of human lives. At the same time, the basic principles of a postwar world order, approved at the conference, despite their general nature and differences in their interpretation by the individual parties, were a major contribution to the specific implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence through intergovernmental accords.

In subsequent years, such agreements, which were achieved as a result of reciprocal accords and on a mutually acceptable basis repeatedly acted as major obstacles to the implementation of unseemly intentions by aggressive imperialist forces. In the present aggravated situation they act not only as

clear proof of the possibility of structuring international relations on the bases of even-handed agreements. The implementation of their results is an effective positive factor which contributes to the solution of disputes through practical talks and on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security.

The facts are that the participants in the Teheran conference -- the first summit meeting of its kind -- experienced major difficulties before agreement could be reached. The Soviet Union and its Leninist foreign policy deserve the greatest credit for the fact that these difficulties were surmounted in their essential lines. Nor should we ignore the fact that under the specific conditions of World War Two this course, tested against the scientific criteria of proletarian internationalism and the principle of peaceful coexistence, was supported to a decisive extent by the great victories of the Red Army on the battlefields and the invaluable contribution to these victories of the working people in the Soviet rear.

Since 1941 the Soviet-German front had remained the basic and decisive theater of military operations. By the end of 1943 two thirds of Germany's active ground forces and 50 divisions of its satellites were concentrated here. In pulverizing the enemy armies in the course of fierce battles, the Soviet Armed Forces were tangibly bringing the day of allied victory closer.

The victorious advance of the Soviet army led to substantial changes in the minds of the leading circles in London and Washington, who had preferred until then to hold the position of "sympathetic observers" and were in no hurry to fulfill their promise of opening a second front in Europe. It was becoming increasingly clear that the Soviet Union was able to crush Hitlerite Germany by itself and to liberate the European peoples from the fascist yoke. The time had come for the U.S. and British politicians to give more serious thought to their role and place in the world were this to take place.

The heroic struggle waged by the Soviet people and the liberation objectives of this struggle, proclaimed by the Soviet Union, had earned it deep sympathy the world over and led to a tangible growth of its international reputation. "Today," the American ambassador to Moscow wrote in May 1943, "the Soviet Union is enjoying unparalleled popularity in Great Britain and the United States and, unquestionably, in the occupied European countries. This admiration is due to the heroic resistance of the Soviet people and the Red Army. In the minds of many people this will be linked to the Soviet system."

The Western powers were increasingly losing the opportunity to engage in separate actions. It was no longer possible to substitute some kind of political games for serious talks with the Soviet side. The document "Russia's Position," which a high-ranking U.S. military official had drafted at that time, emphasized that "In as much as Russia is a decisive factor in the war it must be given all possible aid... Since it will unquestionably hold a dominating position in Europe after the defeat of the Axis powers, it becomes even more important to maintain and develop most friendly relations with Russia." It was suggested, therefore, that America review its policy toward the USSR from the long-range viewpoint, guided not by far-fetched plans for the postwar structure of the world but the task of securing the country's national interests on the basis of the radical changes in the international situation.

At the Quebec meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill in August 1943, in the course of their political talks the American and British leaders were forced to take into consideration that henceforth a great deal was to depend on the Soviet Union. However, although they agreed in principle that the time had come to change from military operations conducted with small forces on secondary theaters to active efforts on the European continent, they nevertheless decided not to hurry with opening a second front, and to postpone it for May of the following year.

Nor should we ignore the fact that during that period as well a major struggle on the possibilities and limits of cooperation with the Soviet Union went on within the U.S. and British ruling classes. Circles holding more realistic views were opposed by the reactionary political wing, blinded by class hatred for socialism, still entrapped by "Munich" views and dreaming if not for reaching an "amicable" agreement with the leaders of Hitlerite Germany at one point or another, at least gaining real advantages from the "maximal exhaustion" of the USSR in the course of its confrontation with fascism. The political leaders of these same Western countries themselves were also largely guided by considerations based on their class interests, frequently driving national interests into the background.

Under these circumstances the Soviet leadership, while consistently favoring stronger combat cooperation with the Western allies, displayed the necessary firmness and principle-mindedness. Understandably, the decision which Roosevelt and Churchill had made in Quebec to postpone once again the opening of a second front could not fail to trigger a negative reaction in the Soviet Union. The head of the Soviet government left the message of the U.S. President and the British prime minister, notifying him of the Quebec decisions, unanswered. The differences were worsened also because of the termination of sea convoys bringing war materiel to the USSR as of the spring of 1943. Nor did the Soviet capital fail to react to the fact that the United States and Great Britain had made a separate agreement on the conditions for Italy's surrender and had held talks on other matters related to Europe. In his 22 August 1943 message to Roosevelt and Churchill, J. V. Stalin wrote on the subject of the armistice with Italy that "The situation so far has been that the United States and Great Britain would make an agreement and the USSR would be informed of the results of the agreement reached by the two powers as a third passive observer. I must inform you that this situation is no longer tolerable."

As Washington and London realized, the course of expanded military and political cooperation with the Soviet Union was becoming inevitable. Let us note that it was Roosevelt who assumed the initiative in pursuing it. In May 1943 he sent to Moscow J. Davis as his special representative, who was instructed to discuss the holding of a Soviet-American summit meeting.

On the suggestion of the Soviet government, the first war-time conference of foreign ministers of the three great powers was held in Moscow from 19 to 30 October. A broad range of foreign policy problems was covered. Despite the serious differences in the positions held by the two sides, the conference proved the possibility of resolving disputes through mutually acceptable agreements. This prepared the practical conditions for a summit meeting to be

held in the Iranian capital, a place which suited the Soviet side for a number of reasons and, in the final account, triggered no substantial objections on the part of the Western partners.

## II

The Teheran conference, which lasted from 28 November to 1 December 1943, entered history above all as a military summit conference which had a major impact on the final stage of World War Two. At the same time, the nature of the military questions which were discussed, the approach taken by the participants to decision making and the decisions themselves, as the facts confirmed, substantially influenced the content of the political discussions, directing them from the very start toward a constructive search for mutually acceptable agreements. Thus, by finding solutions to radical problems of the moment, essentially consistent with the common interests, the participants in the meeting could rely on the existing reciprocal understanding in making progress in areas in which major differences between them remained. This was another characteristic feature of the Teheran conference, which makes us look closely at its experience today.

At the conference the Soviet Union pursued a profoundly thought-out line on the basis of its expanded foreign policy program, which constituted a firm base for its approach to all long-range problems of international relations. Founded on inflexible loyalty to Lenin's behests, it relied on the experience in conducting the foreign policy of the socialist state gained by the communist party during the past decades, combining firmness in matters of principle with tactical flexibility, a comprehensive consideration of specific circumstances and ability to use the entire arsenal of available means. An honest approach to all problems, about which Lenin had said that "honesty in politics is the result of strength, whereas hypocrisy is the result of weakness" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 20, p 210), was a tool which made it particularly convincing.

The primary task which the Soviet Union had set itself in Teheran was the earlier opening of a second front in order to dash the hopes of the Hitlerites and their stooges of prolonging the war, liberating the European nations jointly with the allies and maximally advancing the day of final victory. To our country this was both a military and a political problem, the solution of which essentially became an indicator of the degree of trust and the possibility of cooperating with the Western countries in the future.

The political significance of the problem of opening a second front was also the result of the aspiration of the USSR to do everything possible to strengthen the unity of the anti-Hitlerite coalition which was waging a just war of liberation with the support of the broad popular masses, to provide the most efficient possible aid to the national liberation movements in the countries enslaved by fascism in order to ensure the consolidation of the progressive forces in the interest of establishing a proper world order after the war, and the factual acknowledgment of the equality of all countries, races and nationalities.

In turn, the leaders of the United States and Great Britain went to the Teheran meeting guided as before by plans for creating favorable conditions

for attaining military and political objectives consistent with the interests of monopoly capital. They concentrated on securing conditions for a postwar settlement suitable to the American and British ruling classes, to which the question of opening a second front was henceforth directly related. However, at that time the U.S. and British governments had not definitively agreed on a line regarding a number of problems of military strategy and future political settlements.

The main differences between the Western allies were caused by the unresolved problem of the place and time of launching a large-scale second front, planned for 1944. Churchill continued to insist on an invasion of the Balkans in order to block the path of the Red Army to Central and Southeastern Europe. However, this was met by the objection of the American military command which, on the basis of considerations of political and military expediency, insisted that the invasion take place across the English Channel. In addition to everything else they feared that if their forces would become bogged down in the Balkans the Soviet army, crossing Germany, would enter France. Roosevelt was perfectly aware of the fact that Churchill was approaching military strategy tasks from the positions of the imperial interests of the British ruling class and was trying to enlist the American military power to this purpose. Nevertheless, he did not dare to reject the British plans out of hand, for he believed that any "premature" expansion of military operations on the west could lead to a withdrawal of some German forces from the eastern front and, consequently preserve the power of the Soviet army. On the other hand, he feared missing the opportunity. As he said on the eve of the Teheran conference, "If the situation in Russia continues to develop as it is now, a second front next spring may prove to be unnecessary." However, he had clearly decided for himself that "Berlin must be captured by the United States." This was demanded by the ambitions of the American ruling upper crust.

Roosevelt raised the following question at the very first session of the Teheran conference: "We would like the advice of our Soviet friends on how we could best ease their situation?" The immediate answer was "We, the Russians, believe that the best result would be a strike against the enemy in northern or northwestern France," i.e., at a point which would pose for the enemy with a real rather than fictitious threat and would yield fast and effective results. However, this took two hard bargaining sessions in the course of which the Soviet delegation supported the plan of dealing coordinated blows at the enemy from the east and the west, with a view to hastening the end of the war.

An agreement was finally reached. The United States and Britain committed themselves to begin operations for the invasion of western France in May 1944 along with an auxiliary operation in the south of France. In order to prevent the Germans from maneuvering with their reserves, the Soviet Union undertook to mount a major offensive along several points in May. The final declaration of the three powers emphasized that "...We have coordinated our plans for the destruction of the German armed forces. We have achieved complete agreement on the scale and timing of the operation which will be mounted from the east, west and south." This was a triumph for the principles of cooperation among the allied great powers, aimed at the soonest possible end of the war. In assessing the results of the allied operations, in his report on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Stalin

said: "The decision reached at the Teheran conference on joint operations against Germany and the brilliant implementation of this decision are one of the outstanding indicators of the strengthening of the anti-Hitlerite coalition."

At the conference, in answer to the repeated requests formulated by the United States, ever since it had entered the war, and by Great Britain, the Soviet delegation officially declared that after ending the war against Germany the USSR will enter the war against Japan. Loyal to its obligations to the allies, the Soviet government thus pledged to help to eliminate the hotbed of aggression in the Far East and in the liberation of the Asian peoples.

### III

The Teheran experience proves the inflexible desire of the Soviet Union to achieve accords and agreements while talks are in progress and even on most difficult problems. It also proves the desire of the USSR to find a common language with its collocutors, primarily on the basis of mutually acceptable viewpoints and positions on which a closeness of views can be reached more easily, without insisting on the prior resolution of problems on which considerable differences or totally opposite views remain. In this respect as well the Teheran experience retains its full significance in terms of today's practices in the field of international relations.

A general agreement on the principles of postwar cooperation among the three great powers was reached at the Teheran meeting without any whatsoever grave differences. The foundations for the conference had been laid at the Moscow conference of ministers of foreign affairs of the three countries, which had proved the possibility of achieving a coordinated solution of a number of difficult problems related to the peace settlement. Even Churchill was forced to recognize in this connection that the Soviet government "sincerely wishes permanent friendship with Great Britain and the United States."

The declaration which the three powers adopted at their meeting in Teheran proclaimed that "We are resolved that our countries will work together both during the war and the peace which will follow... As far as the peaceful period is concerned, we are confident that the accord which exists between us will ensure a lasting peace." H. Hopkins, Roosevelt's special representative said in Teheran on the President's behalf that "The President considers that in order to maintain the peace it is very important for the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain to cooperate with each other and for not one of them to arm himself against the other." How distant is the present U.S. leadership from this sober and responsible approach to world affairs.

The participants in the meeting also reached an understanding on the need to establish a reliable system of international security if a lasting peace was to be preserved. The international organization which was to be created for the purpose of safeguarding peace and security was to be founded on the principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving countries, big and small. This laid the foundations for preparations for the creation of the United

Nations Organization, which has 158 members today and which has become the most representative forum for all nations. "We, the peoples of the United Nations, resolved to protect the future generations from the calamities of war..." was the opening statement of the 1945 UN Charter. It crystallized the ideas on the foundations of international peace and security, which had developed as a result of World War II. This was a rejection of the threat or use of force and a call for peaceful cooperation among countries with different social systems.

The question of the postwar structure of liberated Europe, the creation of conditions for peaceful cooperation among nations and prevention of the restoration of a hotbed of aggression and militarism had become relevant in 1943. The initial views of the Western countries on this matter were determined by the interests of U.S. and British monopoly capital. In short, they wanted to preserve the capitalist order on the continent, to prevent radical social changes in the liberated countries and, if possible, to establish in Western and Central Europe a new "cordon sanitaire," similar to the one which had existed on the eve of the war, and which would have helped to "restrain" the land of the soviets. Washington and London also hoped to establish their economic control and political domination over the European countries ruined by the war.

The Soviet Union came out with an effective program for the postwar structure of Europe. Proceeding from the fact that the liberation of the European countries and the restoration of their sovereignty and independence are some of the most important tasks for the European postwar structure and the establishment of durable peace, the Soviet delegation in Teheran categorically objected to the plans for establishing various associations of states similar to the Danubian federation suggested by Churchill, considering them unviable and inconsistent with the interests of the peoples. It insisted that the peoples of Europe be given the right to decide their own fate after the war and that the power in the liberated countries be in the hands of those who could actively participate in ensuring the postwar peace.

A lengthy political struggle lay ahead on the subject of settling the territorial and political problems in Europe. The U.S. and British leaders knew that because of the developing situation on the continent they would be unable to impose their conditions by force. Nevertheless, decades had to pass for the realistic principles on which the USSR insisted in Teheran could become not simply an accomplished fact, but that foundations for the subsequent development of good neighborly conditions and cooperation be developed through the joint efforts of the European countries. To this day, however, the Western revanchist and militaristic circles, those in West Germany above all, are pursuing their subversive activities. They have energized them once again with the worsened international tension caused by the actions of the aggressive imperialist forces headed by the United States. The intrigues of these circles are firmly countered by the firm stand taken by the socialist countries, supported by all democratic and peace loving forces, which stipulates that the territorial and political realities in today's Europe, consistent with the interests of peace and the security of nations, are inviolable.

A great deal of attention was paid in Teheran to the future of Germany and Poland. The participants in the meeting, like the peoples the world over, could not remain indifferent to the question of how to prevent another aggression by German militarism which had repeatedly violated the peace in Europe during the preceding decades. No differences existed among the allies on the need to take suitable steps. Their suggestions, however, took different paths. The Anglo-American program was aimed at reducing Germany to a secondary role in European politics and eliminating it as a serious economic competitor. The Soviet government saw the defeat of Nazism and German militarism as the way to the liberation of the German people and their national rebirth as a sovereign and democratic country. It opposed the identification of Hitler's clique with the German people and rejected a policy of revenge or oppression of the Germans. It was aimed at including them in the family of peace loving European nations.

After the war, Western propaganda created the myth of the alleged "responsibility" of the USSR for the division of the single German state. To this day this myth is actively used above all by the West German reactionary political circles in support of their anti-Soviet course. These fabrications, however, collapse with a simple exposure to historical truth. In Teheran it was not the Soviet Union but the United States and Great Britain who stubbornly called for the dismemberment of Germany. The Soviet delegation consistently supported the national interests of the German people, defending their right to unity within a democratic and peaceful state. In the view of the USSR, for a start, firm steps were necessary to prevent the rebirth of German revanchism and militarism, and the only way to achieve this was the demilitarization, denazification and democratization of the entire German society. The discussion of the dismemberment of Germany in Teheran yielded no results whatsoever, although the Western allies repeatedly, albeit unsuccessfully, returned to their respective plans. Later, on the insistence of the USSR, the question was actually tabled. In the appeal to the Soviet people on the occasion of Victory Day, on 9 May 1945, J. V. Stalin emphasized that "The Soviet Union celebrates the victory although it does not intend to dismember or destroy Germany."

The division of Germany took place after the war, on the initiative of the Western countries and with the active assistance of right-wing circles in West Germany itself. Under these conditions the founding of the German Democratic Republic -- the first socialist state of workers and peasants on German soil -- was the most important even in the history of the entire German people. Over the past decades the GDR has covered a long distance of work and struggle for the basic interests of the people and is participating in world politics constructively and on an equal footing.

Relations between the USSR and the FRG were normalized with the 1970 Moscow Treaty, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. To this day, however, some right-wing West German politicians consider the German problem as still "open," and claim that the FRG represents all Germans. The currently initiated deployment of American first-strike nuclear missiles on West German territory is creating a situation in which a military threat to the USSR and the other socialist countries once again originates on German soil. Such are the dangerous results of the policy of the American and British ruling circles

The factual rather than formal recognition of the legitimate right of the people of any country to deal with its internal affairs without foreign interference and to participate on an equal basis in international life is the cardinal principle of Soviet foreign policy, for the implementation of which the Soviet Union has systematically struggled in war and peace. It was also the guideline of the Soviet position in Teheran, which ensured it in the end its victory in the difficult political talks.

Forty years ago the Teheran conference strengthened the confidence of the peoples in the approaching victory over fascism and militarism. It gave them legitimate reasons to believe that the encroachments of all pretenders to world domination will be firmly blocked, that the postwar peace will be firm and lasting and that, step by step, the principles of justice will increasingly prevail in international relations. Despite the difficulties encountered by mankind during the subsequent years and decades, these hopes were not dashed as a whole. However, subsequent events also confirmed the undisputable truth that the preservation and consolidation of universal peace and the establishment of a new international order demanded of the democratic forces to continue their firm daily struggle. In the tense and dangerous situation created today by the reactionary imperialist circles through their actions, such a struggle is a must for the very survival of civilization.

Today, like during the stormy years of the Great Patriotic War, the land of the soviets considers it its historical responsibility to erect an insurmountable barrier along the inhumane imperialist course. It is motivated by concern not only for its own security but also that of the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries and the future of all mankind. The objectives of CPSU foreign policy are not simply to prevent a new war but to achieve a radical improvement in international relations and to strengthen and develop all the good principles within them. "We do not separate the prosperity of our people from the security of the Soviet state," the declaration of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, reads, "and even less so pit it against the prosperity and security of other nations and countries."

The Leninist foreign policy course of the Soviet Union is deeply consistent with the expectations of the peoples and the objective requirements of our age and with ensuring the prime human right -- the right to life. The resolve of the peoples, of all progressive and peace-loving forces to put an end to the policy of confrontation and military diktat and to ensure the preservation of peace, to strengthen in relations among countries the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty and the non-use of force or the threat of force is being manifested with increasing persistence and firmness. As during World War Two the anti-Hitlerite coalition embodied the resolve of the peoples and democratic countries to defeat the dark forces of reaction and obscurantism and to defeat their plans to enslave mankind, today as well the global antiwar coalition of peace loving countries and broad public circles, developing on the basis of the struggle for the preservation of life on earth, is becoming an increasingly weighty factor in international relations.

A reliable obstacle on the path of the initiators of a new world war can and must be erected through the joint efforts of all peace loving countries and

peoples, by the universal antiwar coalition. As Karl Marx emphasized, "in the end reason prevails in world history" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 15, p 569). The forces of militarism can be stopped as they were through the struggle of the peoples and the joint efforts of the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition 4 decades ago. We can prevent the world from sliding toward the precipice of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

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## EDUCATION OF THE CITIZEN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 17, Nov 83 (signed to press 22 Nov 83)  
pp 122-128

[Review by V. Kalinkin of the journal MOLODOY KOMMUNIST]

[Text] The years may pass, but we shall never forget the militant 1918 and the sealed door of the Komsomol raykom premise, with a short note pinned on it: "Raykom closed, everyone is at the front." Those who had closed the raykom had left behind the machine tool and the semi-plowed furrow to join Frunze, Chapayev, Budenny and Blyukher. Almost one half of the then entire Komsomol membership of the Soviet Republic -- some 200,000 strong -- were following the blazing paths of the civil war.

YUNYY KOMMUNIST, the young and newly founded youth journal, joined the ranks of the fighters for the just cause on 15 December 1918. Its first issue was dedicated to the heroes of the worker and peasant Red Army. The echoes of battle and, later on, the rumbling of the first Soviet five-year plans filled with their unique sounds the lines of this youth publication which was blazing the way to its readers with rising confidence.

Sixty-five years stand between the first issue in 1918 and the latest 11th issue of MOLODOY KOMMUNIST, still smelling of printer's ink. The years have passed and the name of the journal changed (YUNIY KOMMUNIST, 1918-1938; MOLODOY BOL'SHEVIK, 1939-1952) but the tasks remain the same: the ideological and political tempering of Komsomol cadres and aktiv and the communist upbringing of Soviet youth. Monthly editions of more than 720,000 copies of MOLODOY KOMMUNIST (the current circulation) engage with their readers conversations on loyalty to our great ideals, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the heroic history of the communist party and the Leninist Komsomol and the valorous path of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The journal of the Komsomol Central Committee reflects the varied life of Soviet and foreign youth. The headings of the journal's sections themselves provide a clear idea of the topics and range of the published materials: "World Outlook of the Revolutionary Age," "Remember the Exploits," "Degrees of Spiritual Maturity," "Komsomols of the 1980s," "Komsomol: Activities, Experience, Problems," "Literature and Art," "Physical Culture and Sports," and others.

Regardless of the variety of creative searching by MOLODOY KOMMUNIST and of views expressed by the authors and the range of topics, we can confidently say that the materials it publishes are geared to the main target of the education of man as the builder of a communist society, ideological fighter, working person and soldier. Priority is given to problems of civic-mindedness and patriotism. This is the journal's pivotal theme.

#### Active Life Stance

In his speech at the Third All-Russian RKSM [Worker and Peasant Youth League] Congress, V. I. Lenin formulated a scientific program for Komsomol activities and defined its role and status as the party's reserve and closest assistant in making the new society and the communist education of the growing generation. This program remains the guide of the young Leninists league, and of all young men and women in the land of the soviets.

The communist education of the Soviet youth is based on its ideological and political tempering, which presumes the creative mastery of Marxism-Leninism, the shaping of a materialistic outlook, and the education of the youth in a spirit of love for the socialist fatherland and loyalty to the party and to proletarian internationalism. This is the basis on which the editors of MOLODOY KOMMUNIST proceed in selecting materials on ideological and political topics. In its efforts to raise the young readers as firm class fighters and to expose them to the treasury of revolutionary thinking, the journal describes the dedicated work of our people, who built under the leadership of the communist party a developed socialist society in which social relations have reached a high degree of maturity, and a huge economic, scientific and technical and spiritual potential has been created as a firm base for the further enhancement of the well-being of the masses, and where socialist democracy and the comprehensive development of the individual and the successful implementation of socioeconomic tasks have been accomplished, which, the journal emphasizes, is inseparable from the enhancement of the level of communist consciousness and the creative activeness of the Soviet people and the youth's aspiration toward lofty ideals and social targets and its firm ideological convictions.

The entire work of the Komsomol organizations must be directed toward shaping in every member and young person an active life stance and toward opening to him the world of great social life, the world of the struggle for the future of human civilization and communism.

....We would like to believe that the two characters in one of the prewar essays published by the journal are alive and have survived the tempests of the Great Patriotic War. They would be in their sixties now. This old argument might seem naive to them, viewed through the lens of their practical experience. At that time, in 1939, these two young Red Army men were arguing in defense of their principles in an effort to divide the indivisible. "I," the first said, "think like this: First learn to shoot and attend political training classes later." The second, brimming with youthful certainty but showing a fully mature judgement, objected: "You may master your weapon and learn how to shoot. But it is from Marx and Lenin that you must learn where to aim."

This brief dialogue clearly revealed the then popular ways and means of ideological education of the youth through the printed word. They were simple, restrained and, we must agree, convincing.

Although remaining on the same ideological platform, the characters in today's MOLODOY KOMMUNIST seek the answer to this eternal question their own way, with the corrections made by time and the tremendous revolutionary changes which have taken place in the world. The ideological and political experience of the preceding generations has accomplished its beneficial mission: the curious mind of the young of the 1980s goes deeper into the problems of the history and theory of proletarian class awareness. As theoreticians, did Marx and Engels study the consciousness of the working class? Which one of their works helps to clarify the nature of this class awareness? What role does it play in the struggle waged by the proletariat? Such are the questions a reader asked in the journal.

This year the journal presents its view of these questions in the section "From the Marxist Legacy." The article "The Mental awareness of the Revolutionary" explains to the young reader in a popular form that "...The awareness of man does not apply to his knowledge alone. There is no awareness outside the active work of the entire mental sphere, for a person not only thinks but feels and experiences the correlation between his concepts and the active efforts and perceptions of reality." It further states that "The reader may ask: If objective circumstances play such an important role in shaping the person's awareness, outlook and thinking, is there not here some kind of clear if not fatal predetermination?"

No, the journal answers, referring to the authority of the founders of scientific communism, and argues that it was no accident that the Marxist-Leninist classics paid such tremendous attention to the subjective factor in shaping the awareness of the working class -- instilling in its ranks the revolutionary ideas, developing in the participants in the proletarian movement a scientific outlook and appealing (and themselves doing a great deal in this respect) to their fellow workers to learn, to acquire experience and knowledge, which would become their reliable weapons in future battles.

This profound and meaningful article is bound to make the readers think. However, its effectiveness would have been greater had it taken more fully into consideration the specific nature of its youthful audience and had the editors worked harder on the style which, in this case, is sometimes turgid.

A theoretical conclusion is a manual for practical action. If a young citizen wants to develop himself as a real fighter for the triumph of the ideas of the working class and become a true communist, as Lenin taught, he must enrich his mind with the entire wealth produced by mankind. He must learn, he must study the world and, above all, he must act in accordance with this knowledge. That same article emphasizes the role of independent work and suggests the study of that part of Marx's letter to Lassalle dated June 1862.

The same thought is developed in issues Nos 9 and 10, this time on the occasion of another historical event -- the 60th anniversary of Lenin's final works. In its preface to the article "The Revolutionary Dialectics of

Realism," the journal tells the readers the following: In order to become a Marxist-Leninist, more than the study of the laws of dialectics is required. One must learn how to apply them. This, however, calls for developing the skill to see each phenomenon in its historical development, internal contradictoriness and ties to other phenomena. Hence the purpose of the article: To show the way Vladimir Il'ich Lenin applied dialectics in resolving the most difficult problems facing the young Soviet republic.

MOLODOY KOMMUNIST does not publish articles on pure theory, so to say. Any one of its materials -- an article on philosophical problems, an essay on party history, an interview with a social scientist or a round table discussion on the atheistic education of the youth -- carries the appeal for active efforts and mental work and, in the final account, socially useful labor. Idea-mindedness is checked through deeds: such is the main theme which runs through any work on communist education. The target and directions of the articles are entirely clear: to remind the young reader again and again of the fact that Lenin's behest expressed at the Third All-Russian Komsomol Congress, on 2 October 1920, to the effect that "One can become a true communist only through work, together with the workers and the peasants," must be the permanent guideline in the life of the Soviet young men and women.

Issue after issue MOLODOY KOMMUNIST describes the tremendous work of the party and the Soviet state, who are creating all the necessary conditions for the extensive involvement of the Soviet youth in economic construction, production and the administration of social affairs. Whenever new difficult problems arose, the journal emphasizes, the party has always turned to the Komsomol, the youth, with new responsible assignments. Such was the case during the period of industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution, during the Great Patriotic War and the restoration of the national economy. Such is the case today, after the June 1983 CPSU Plenum set the task of ensuring the proper organization and smooth operation of the entire economic mechanism. It was precisely this though that was the theme of the journal's eighth issue in which each entry was preceded by an epigraph from the Central Committee's materials.

The journal reminds its readers that they must justify their lofty purpose of being active assistants and combat reserve of the party by developing in themselves the qualities of ideological fighters, making worthy contributions to the building and defense of communism and carrying in their hearts the sacred flame of loyalty to the banners of the October Revolution. MOLODOY KOMMUNIST itself dedicates the full ringing power of its publicism to the cause of the class upbringing and assertion of communist idea-mindedness and morality.

#### Facets of the Round Table

All newspaper and journal articles, the 26th party congress noted, must be considered a serious discussion with the people, who expect not only the truthful and effective presentation of the facts, but also their profound analysis and major summations.

As it educates the young citizen of the land of the soviets and develops in him the qualities of ideological fighter, patriot and worker, MOLODOY

KOMMUNIST intensifies the depth of its articles and at the same time tries to broaden the variety of its contacts with its readers. The sponsoring of round table discussions is one of such methods, which has proved its usefulness and has met with a positive response.

As a rule, the round-table talks are preceded by extensive preparatory work. Journalists travel to various parts of the country and visit enterprises, student groups and Soviet army units and subunits to study the great variety of problems which will be discussed.

Let us consider the intra-Komsomol problems and Komsomol work itself, the essence of which is to rally and organize the young people. It involves the ability to combine different talents and demands of the young leader specific qualities. By far not everyone can reach a profound understanding of the characteristics of the young, consider the interests and moods of the collective, rely on it, influence it and lead it toward the common goal. This can be accomplished only by a purposeful, involved and necessarily prestigious person.

"Prestige is a responsible concept" was the topic of one of the editorial round table discussions. Those attending it were asked the meaning of the Komsomol member and Komsomol organization prestige and what creates it?

S. Alekseyev, a turner and secretary of a shop Komsomol organization, concluded that the prestige of the Komsomol member and Komsomol leader begins with the implementation of statutory requirements, for the Komsomol bylaws stipulate that the young Leninist must be in the leading ranks of the builders and defenders of communism. He must actively participate in social life and be a model citizen of the land of the soviets.

A. Maslov, student at a machine building technical school interprets prestige as follows: "Unquestionably, prestige is based on the attitude toward one's work." Here again, as we can see, the main indicator of the qualities of a person is his work, his practical contribution to building communism.

The round table participants discuss the honor and dignity of the Komsomol member and the place and role of the Komsomol leader, supporting their views with examples from the life of their shop, student collective or construction brigade. Such discussions are of interest to the readers, for they apply to specific human destinies. What mattered to the journal was to draw attention to the topic, to show that being a Komsomol member, and a Komsomol leader even more so, means not only to have the honor of leading but, above all, to assume serious obligations. It is precisely the assumption of responsibility for assignments and for maintaining the prestige of the organization that is the touchstone on which the best qualities of the young person are honed. That is why, in the view of one of the participants in the round table discussion, questions of raising the level of exigency toward Komsomol members concerning their own actions and deeds must always be in the focus of our attention. Firmly to oppose all displays of slackness, inertia and complacency means to enhance the prestige of the Komsomol.

Another round table discussion, the topic of which was the live and creative atmosphere in Komsomol organizations, could be taken as an extension of the preceding one, although a somewhat different aspect of the problem was touched upon: How does the live and creative atmosphere in the Komsomol organization contribute to the ideological, political, labor and moral training of the young men and women, and what helps and hinders its development? Naturally, the question addressed to the participants in the talk was what had their organizations done to resolve this problem?

The journal sponsored a discussion on this important topic on the eve of the first anniversary of the 26th party congress. The purpose was to study the manner in which the tasks which the CPSU Central Committee accountability report set to the Komsomol were seen by a specific organization and through the eyes of the membership itself, from the managers to the representatives of shop cells. The discussion was sponsored by the Brest city organization of the Belorussian Komsomol.

What does a live and creative atmosphere mean? The answers intermeshed, supplemented each other and revealed ever new facets of this concept: it means the full-blooded life of the youth collective, saturated with events; reciprocal strictness and exigency; an atmosphere in which ideological maturity can be manifested most fully; and initiative.

In summing up the statements, A. Chernyshev, an engineer-technologist and secretary of a komsomol organization, said: "...A live and creative atmosphere is one of irreconcilable struggle against indifference and formalism, when everyone is concerned with the common cause and when the initiative of every member of the collective is implemented, thus defining his place and role in the collective."

Another round table discussion dealt with the sources of Komsomol initiative and efficiency and work style as a tool for action. In terms of the Komsomol leader this unquestionably applies to the extent to which his personality and character affect the work style of the committee he heads. Such was the view of the participants in the discussion as they agreed and disagreed while analyzing cases drawn from specific Komsomol practices.

The MOLODOY KOMMUNIST editors are frankly proud for holding such round table discussions. Creative success here is no rarity. Nevertheless, let us note on the subject of materials published in this section that here again, as in any other genre, a weighed approach is necessary. Sometimes the journal is carried away and publishes excessively lengthy talks which may take two issues to cover and in which the repetition of obvious truths takes much space. This frequently tires the attention of the young readers and lowers their interest in the materials published.

#### Firing the Heart's Courage

The war is still remembered. It lives in the remembrance of and ache for the fallen, sometimes hiding in ravines and gullies, old trenches and dugouts, casings of unexploded grenades and rusty fragments of shells and bombs. It is still lurking, while some people in the West stubbornly threaten us with a new

one. This is a real and unavoidable fact. That is why it is so important, at the beginning of life, in childhood and adolescence, to develop and strengthen among the other features of a maturing character readiness to take up arms in defense of the fatherland, in the example of the heroes, and as a civic duty.

"Remember the Exploits", "Chronicle of the Great Patriotic War," and "Our Armed Forces," sections in which MOLODOY KOMMUNIST discusses military and patriotic education, have become, judging by a recent address to its readers, one of the main aspects in the journal's work. The main purpose of materials on military-patriotic topics is to raise the young citizen of the land of the soviets in the examples of the heroic military part and present, to give him an idea about military service long before he has joined the army or the navy.

...From the remote Transbaykal, Sergey Ablitov, a young construction worker wrote about the recent send-off to the army of a young comrade and the instruction he received from the members of his brigade: honestly to serve the homeland and to uphold the honor of the workers in the course of his military service. He asked what lies behind the words "military work?"

The editors realized that something more than simple curiosity had dictated this letter. An officer with a long army service and experience in hardships was asked to answer the letter.

Military work is a broad concept, the Soviet army colonel wrote, addressing himself not only to the young Transbaykal draftee but to all young men his age, those who drive the frightening combat vehicles, stand watch aboard navy ships, listen to the silence of the border or stare at the blue screens of control instruments.

The author cited three small examples characteristic of present-day life in our armed forces.

A soldier is practicing automatic weapon fire. If he is perfectly collected and if he concentrates the target will be hit and the task performed. This already is military work.

A soldier is in the trench. A tank is advancing in his direction and its gun seems to be pointing straight at him. The huge underpinnings are already over him, he smells the hot solar oil and the earth crumbles, but the moment the sky reappears he must stand up and hurl his grenade. This is military work.

A plan for a training exercise is being drafted at headquarters. Officers are marking the operative maps with red and blue arrows. Computer lights are flashing checking the actions of the subunits and display instantly each stage of the "battle." It is precisely here, behind the desks and panels that the success of the planned operations of a division or army is born. This also is military work.

From the specific to the general: Today, we read on, there are some 2,000 specialties in the army and navy. Understandably, the military specialist serves in his branch and it is simply impossible to survey all possible activities. However, should the decisive hour strike for the homeland, military

work stands out in its entire variety in a compressed and concentrate aspect. At that point our entire people become a single army blocking the path of the hated enemy.

The MOLODOY KOMMUNIST articles on military courage in the battlefields call for heroism, courage and vigilance. Army and navy veterans, famous military commanders, writers and journalists tell the young people about people of the Korchagin and Kosmodemyanskaya generations, about those who protected the homeland. At various times the journal has offered space to Marshals of the Soviet Union I. Kh. Bagramyan, S. M. Budenny, A. M. Vasilevskiy, G. K. Zhukov and R. Ya. Malinovskiy, Army Generals P. I. Batov and A. L. Getman, front and formation commanders and those who led regiments, battalions and companies to the attack. Identifying troops and commanders who duplicated the exploits of Nikolay Gastello and Aleksandr Matrosov has become an important military-patriotic project of MOLODOY KOMMUNIST.

Today, as we celebrate a series of famous anniversaries of the greatest battles of the Great Patriotic War and with the approach of the 40th anniversary of the historical victory over fascism, the journal is addressing itself with increasing frequency to those closely felt and unforgettable events.

Let us look at the issue devoted to the 40th anniversary of the defeat of the Hitlerite forces at Stalingrad. The battle by the Volga is justifiably described as the "battle of the century." It marked a radical turn in the course of the Great Patriotic War and has entered the chronicles of the heroic battles against fascism as a symbol of the inflexible will of the Soviet person and an example of military valor and courage. Konstantin Simonov accurately pointed out that "Many years hence, when we begin to remember and say 'war,' we shall think of Stalingrad...." In selecting the materials to be published on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the great battle on the Volga, MOLODOY KOMMUNIST set itself the following specific task: Let the young people of today who have never been awakened by air-raid sirens feel bodily the breath and pulsebeat of the great battle, and let the simple mathematics of those distant and memorable days instill pride in the accomplishments of the senior generation. Here is a "Latest communique:" In the battles for Stalingrad, between 10 January and 2 February 1943 alone, partial data show that "the following booty was captured: 750 airplanes, 1,550 tanks, 6,700 guns, 1,462 mortars, 8,135 machine guns, 90,000 rifles and 61,102 motor vehicles." Let the young readers of today try to think even for one minute that all of these tanks, airplanes and rifles thundered, flew, aimed and fired at their fathers and grandfathers in one of the sectors alone of the fierce battle against fascism. They would feel particularly close to the characters in the essay "Stalingrad's Answer," the report "The Final Battle," and brief news reports written in the hot trace of events in places where the earth was still smoking from the fires.

The battles are far behind us and the fields once torn by shells and bombs have been harvested dozens of times. Red Pathfinders are hiking along the battle roads. Exactly 60 million boys and girls are participating today in the all-union march to sites of revolutionary, combat and labor glory, searching and turning new and previously unknown pages of the victory chronicles. Their findings and the ways through which the young people become

exposed to front line exploits are regularly covered by MOLODOY KOMMUNIST. Last September, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the other greatest battle of the Great Patriotic War -- the battle on the fiery Kursk Arc -- the journal published letters found by the Pathfinders in the course of the "Memory" search. These simple, unsophisticated and human documents, clearly not written for the sake of history, warm the hearts.

"Greetings, dear parents°... I swore to avenge dearly your suffering and the death of brothers and comrades."

"...We attacked today and the battle was quite fierce. My vehicle was hit by more than 20 shells... We repaired it quickly and rejoined the battle..."

"...This is a happy day. We took Belgorod and Orel. We shall soon take care of the Fritzes and come home. Until our happy reunion."

This is what three rank-and-file war toilers wrote from the fields of Kursk. Two of them did not return.

Coverage of problems of military-patriotic education is not limited to publications related to memorable anniversaries. A conversation with Admiral S. Ye. Sakharov dealt with raising the young in the spirit of military traditions. The development of the young soldier was the topic of a letter by Colonel L. Kovalev, commander of a Red Army advanced unit. Colonel N. Koshelev, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy in charge of Komsomol Affairs, wrote on enhancing the role of Komsomol organizations in the dissemination of frontline experience.

Such materials promote feelings of pride in one's country and its soldiers, and readiness to take up arms in defense of the homeland.

#### Feedback Call Signals

January 1972. On the suggestion of the journal's editors the Komsomol Central Committee passed a decree on awarding the MOLODOY KOMMUNIST "Red Carnation" challenge prize to Komsomol-youth collectives of builders of the KamaZ and the new city on the banks of the Kama. Shortly afterwards the Komsomol construction workers organization and the editors made a contract.

It seemed difficult to find a common base for the creative competition between a worker and a journalist collective. How to weigh on the scales of the socialist competition a machined part and a line written by a journalist? The experience of MOLODOY KOMMUNIST and the youth collectives which signed a work agreement with it proved better than words that such a competition, efficiently organized and enjoying reciprocal interest in its success, was both possible and fruitful. The workers assumed the obligation to participate jointly with the editors in formulating the topics of materials to be published by MOLODOY KOMMUNIST, to supervise the efficient decision-making by the Komsomol committees on the basis of journal publications and, together with the editors, to follow the course of the competition among Komsomol-youth brigades. The journalists undertook to publish regularly materials on the life and activities of sponsored Komsomol organizations, to write about the

young heroes of the five-year plan, to increase the effectiveness of their articles and to inform the readers of the specific results of materials dealing with problem and criticisms.

More than 10 years have passed since the socialist competition contract was signed between MOLODOY KOMMUNIST and the working youth at the Kama automotive manufacturing giant. The journal has to its credit some 130 articles on the enthusiasm of the youth at this shock Komsomol construction project, a letter of appreciation of the Tatar party obkom and an honor certificate of the Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The socialist competition among Komsomol-youth collectives for the journal's prize is the most important organizational step taken by the editors. Along with the other competition methods, it has become an effective means for mobilizing the young people for the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of production plans and the completion of the plant complex and housing and consumer facilities on time. The "Red Carnation" continues to generate ever new initiatives on the part of young workers, technicians, engineers and makers of KamAZ vehicles which are rolling along the roads of our country, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia....

For a number of years MOLODOY KOMMUNIST has sponsored the Oskolskiy Electro-metallurgical Combine, on the basis of a labor cooperation contract. "Let there be Oskol steel" is the theme of materials describing the labor heroism at the largest construction project of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, the first section of which is already functioning.

In 1981, broadening its range of sponsorship, the editors concluded labor cooperation contracts with the Lebedin and Stoylenskiy ore mining and concentration combines.

Naturally, sponsorship of shock construction projects and the publication of special issues on their accomplishments and concerns to not restrict the range of activities of this youth publication, as any one of its issues would prove. We see a coverage of our entire country, from the shores of the Pacific to its western borders. We see various cities and countries in its "Globe" section. We see the face of friends and class enemies.

There is no editorial board uninterested in the age-old question of what is the response to it and what is the status of its relations with the readers, the so-called feedback. In the case of MOLODOY KOMMUNIST, the call signals of such feedback are heard not only through the letters to the editors and statements at readership conferences. The feedback call signals are heard in the rumbling of factory and plant machine tools, the trips along the BAM working sectors, the noise of tractors and thunder of training exercises, heated debates in student halls and calm discussions in teachers' rooms. These are the lines of creative editorial searchings and trips by journalists on assignments most frequently generated by readers' letters.

Life faces the journal with increasingly new requirements, above all for reorganizing its work more actively in accordance with the tasks set to the Komsomol and, consequently, its printed organs, at the June 1983 CPSU Central

Committee Plenum. The plenum emphasized that sometimes the Komsomol organizations "stands aside from the vital problems which truly excite the youth and fail to react promptly to the new trends and enthusiasms among the youth or to give them the necessary ideological directions. Overorganization and parade ostentatiousness are hindrances. There is insufficient skill to complete initiated projects..." The Komsomol must "wage a stubborn battle against soullessness, egotism, philistinism and any attempts at inserting in our midst alien views and mores." It is precisely the same problems on which MOLODOY KOMMUNIST must concentrate today.

The journal should not neglect the gains of past experience. Several years ago, for instance, a debate club, in which topical problems related to the moral molding of the personality were discussed sharply and interestingly, enjoyed great popularity among the readers. Today the editors are making an increasingly lesser use of this method of frank discussions with the readers.

In depicting the character of the young contemporary, the journal must concern itself more with his study, with what excites the young hero of our interesting and complex times, with the way he, the young hero, develops within himself in the course of daily life the obligatory qualities of the socialist individual, such as ideological convictions, party-mindedness, patriotism and internationalism. We must always remember that the shaping of the citizen takes place in various areas of life and that we must address ourselves more energetically to the topical and relevant problems of the moral and aesthetic upbringing and way of life and recreation of the adolescent.

We would like for the journal to broaden its range of topics in treating the noble theme of the education of the citizen of the land of the soviets. Although many of the materials on this topic sharply raise specific problems and searches for best solutions, descriptiveness prevails over the formulation of problems. This is found most frequently in materials dealing with lessons in courage and meetings between war and labor veterans and Komsomol members and young people. We also find in this area a number of problems which are awaiting a better solution. Sometimes topics such as studies of work on the dissemination of combat and labor traditions and their specific impact on upgrading labor discipline and strengthening order and organization are ignored.

The great experience acquired by the journal over the past 60 years, the creative potential of the editors, the widespread authorship aktiv and the grateful readers' feedback reacting to the journal's topics are sufficient grounds for believing that in the future as well MOLODOY KOMMUNIST will successfully fulfill its tasks.

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